A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE MENNONITE IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN PARANÁ, BRAZIL

By

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PREFACE

The present writer's interest in the Mennonites of Paraná was stimulated by a visit among them in May, 1962. These people are involved in various kinds of sociocultural change which are similar to those taking place among their brethren in North America. The smallness of the Brazilian group permits the investigator to gain an understanding of the process and effects of such change which would be difficult to obtain by an attempt to study the much larger Mennonite society of North America.

This research was possible because of the many people whose ideas and cooperation enabled the present writer to bring the dissertation to completion. Foremost among all these persons is the chairman of the supervisory committee, Dr. T. Lynn Smith, whose untiring efforts went far beyond those which a doctoral candidate may expect of his chairman. The present writer is profoundly appreciative of Dr. Smith for his helpful suggestions, constructive criticisms, and careful reading and editing of the manuscript. The frame of reference employed in this analysis is largely that developed by Dr. Smith, as readily may be seen by a perusal of the Table of Contents. Dr. Smith's sustained interest and assistance have contributed substantially to whatever merits this study may have.

Special thanks also are due to the other members of the supervisory committee for their helpful criticisms, suggestions, and encouragement.

They are the following: Dr. Harry Kantor, Dr. Lyle N. McAlister, Dr. John V.D. Saunders, Dr. Joseph S. Vandiver, and Dr. Ruth Albrecht, who substituted for Dr. Saunders during the later phase of the writing of the dissertation.

A field study such as this depends greatly upon the active cooperation of the members of the group involved. The present writer is deeply grateful to the principals of the two Mennonite schools, Waldemar Ens and Peter Pauls, Jr., and to some of their students, for their participation in the enumerative survey of Mennonite families. An important source of information in this research is the numerous extended interviews with most of the religious, educational, and community leaders. A special word of thanks is due to each of them. In order to respect their desire that their words remain confidential, it was decided not to specify individuals in footnote citations to information gathered in such interviews, nor are they included in the Bibliography. This opportunity is taken to express the present writer's gratitude for their invaluable assistance in these interviews, as well as for their hearty recommendations to others to cooperate in the research project.

Special appreciation is due to Abram Dueck and Henry Ens, whose complete mastery of German and English was indispensable in the preparation of the research instruments. The work in Witmarsum was facilitated greatly by Peter Pauls, Sr., the president of the local cooperative, and by Peter Pauls, Jr., the principal of the colony's school. Their dedication to the systematic gathering of statistical data, and the preservation of historical documents, proved to be a great help in the realization of

this study. Also, Ernst Janzen was a faithful and effective assistant whose work greatly enhanced the progress of the research.

Professors José Loureiro Fernandes and Altiva P. Balhana made relations with the University of Paraná a very pleasant experience. Professor Balhana, and other members of the University's Research Council, were much appreciated colleagues in the research in Witmarsum, due to their continuing interest in and study of this colony.

The present writer is deeply indebted to the many persons who cooperated patiently in the formal interviews of heads of households and the completion of the student questionnaires. The friendly acceptance of an outsider by most of the members of a group which has many reasons to distrust data-gathering strangers made the eleven months of participant observation a period of great satisfaction.

Finally, the writer wishes to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of his wife, Shirley Showalter Minnich, whose secretarial and editorial help, and constant encouragement, have played an important role in the completion of this dissertation.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study is a sociological analysis of four Mennonite communities in Paraná, one of the southern states of Brazil. It is devoted primarily to a comparison of the demographic and sociocultural situations of the several communities, and of the changes which have taken place in them since 1930, the year the Mennonites arrived in Santa Catarina, Brazil. No attempt is made to describe in detail the complete situation of the communities. The center of interest is the social and cultural change which has occurred.

Scope

The field research on which this study is based was done from September, 1964, through July, 1965. All four of the communities are located in or near the city of Curitiba, the capital of Paraná. (See Figure 1.) They include the following: Witmarsum, a rural colony located about 35 - 40 miles from Curitiba; Boqueirão-Xaxím, commonly called Boqueirão (and referred to as such throughout this study), a large rurban settlement about six miles south of the city; Guarituba, a small locality group ten miles southeast of Curitiba, whose characteristics are intermediate to those of Witmarsum and Boqueirão; and Vila Guaíra, an urban settlement named for the section of the city in which it is located. The present writer spent considerable time in each of the four conducting interviews, attending meetings, and visiting informally with numerous

Figure 1. Location of the Mennonite Communities in Paraná, and of the Original, Abandoned Colonies in Santa Catarina, Brazil.

families. The data which were gathered, often with the generous assistance of various helpful Mennonites, are used in this study to analyze the demographic characteristics, the social organization, and the social processes of the several communities involved. All of the tables and figures are based on data collected, compiled, and computed by the present writer, unless there is a specific statement to the contrary. An attempt is made to assess the importance of the differences between the four communities, as well as of the changes that have taken place since the first Mennonite colonies were established in Santa Catarina.

The similarities and differences between the sociocultural patterns characteristic of the Mennonites in Brazil at the present time and those which prevailed in Russia, when they lived in that country, also are analyzed. Although it is not possible to establish an empirical basis for all topics of sociological interest for the Mennonites in Russia, a considerable amount of reliable data exists concerning some aspects of their society and culture (see Chapter III). With these materials, and with the comparative results of studies among the Mennonites in Paraguay, whose way of life continues to be very similar to that in Czarist Russia, a reasonably accurate picture may be secured of the direction and extent of sociocultural change.

Purposes of the Study

This research seeks to increase scientific knowledge concerning some of the Mennonites in Brazil. Although numerous studies have been made among these people in Western Europe and North America, and to some

extent in Russia, sociological research among the Mennonites in Brazil is just beginning. Some notable work has been done in Paraguay, and the present study provides a sociological analysis of about two-thirds of those in Brazil. Unlike their brethren in Paraguay, Bolivia, Mexico, and British Honduras, the Brazilian Mennonites have no special privileges as a minority group. Therefore the present research is especially concerned with the social processes by which a group of Mennonite immigrants adjusts itself in a country where conditions do not permit the transplantation of the sociocultural patterns which were predominant in pre-revolutionary Russia. Specifically, this study seeks to answer questions such as the following:

1. How many Mennonites reside in Paraná, and what are their demographic characteristics?

2. What is the social organization of the Mennonite communities in Paraná and what are the important differences between the four communities?

3. How does the social organization in Paraná differ from that of the original settlers in Santa Catarina, and that of the Mennonite colonists in pre-revolutionary Russia?

4. What are the roles of the basic social processes in the four communities?

5. What changes in the relative importance of the several processes have taken place during the Mennonites' residence in Brazil, 1930-1965?

6. What are the major social and cultural changes among the Paraná Mennonites during their residence in Brazil?

7. What are the principal causes, and who are the principal agents, of these changes?

The general hypothesis of the present writer is that the Mennonites in Paraná are moving away from a group-oriented, authoritarian pattern of

living to one which is more individual-oriented and democratic. The vastly different physical, social, and cultural conditions the immigrants encountered in Brazil were among the original causes of the above trend. In addition, many of those who chose Brazil instead of Paraguay for their new homeland were more receptive to religious and other changes. Continuing adaptation on the part of the Mennonites is due today to the greatly increased contacts of the younger generation with the host society, and especially to the contacts Mennonite students have in non-Mennonite educational institutions. These persons enjoy considerable prestige in both societies, and they are the most effective channels and stimuli for change at the present time.

General Methodology

The present writer spent eleven months in field research and participant observation gathering the data needed to test the above hypothesis, and to answer the questions listed in the preceding section, as well as a host of related ones. During the first months he made an attempt to become acquainted personally with the church, community, and educational leaders. The cooperation and public support which these men gave to the project provided, in the present writer's opinion, the decisive ingredient which assured the success of the undertaking.

There were no accurate demographic data on the population, so a census of the Paraná Mennonites was made by the investigator. (See Appendix A for the forms used.) The rural Witmarsum colony had family-record cards for most of its families, so the present writer adapted the

form somewhat and used it for all the communities. A supplementary schedule called for other desired information. Duplicate copies of the family-record forms were made and a copy of each was deposited in the library of the Boqueirão Mennonite School (Escola Erasto Gaertner). The large task of taking the census was greatly facilitated by the hearty approval given to the project by all of the leaders. The juniors and seniors of the Boqueirão School cooperated in completing the forms in the large rurban community, as well as in the urban community of Vila Guaíra.

Information concerning community, religious, and educational organization was gathered by means of interviews-in-depth with most of the leaders. (See Appendix F for the questions used.) Numerous written records, documents, and files also were examined. Considerable information and understanding were gained by formal and informal visits in the homes of many families in all the Mennonite communities.

Use of a Sample

The writer was interested in visiting a cross section of all the households in order to gain greater perspective. He needed to obtain selected information about the family, social participation, membership in voluntary organizations, and political behavior from a representative portion of the population. Finally, he wished to measure selected attitudes of a cross section of the people. Therefore, he decided to interview intensively a 20 per cent, stratified, proportional sample of all heads of households, which totaled 103 persons. To test the hypothesis that the students attending non-Mennonite educational institutions

in Paraná held significantly different opinions and attitudes, when compared with their elders, portions of the interview instrument were given to as many as possible of those Mennonite students (70—or 90 per cent of all such students). No attempt was made to insure that the student sample would be representative, but with such a high proportion of the population included, it is highly probable that such is the case.

Instruments

The selected information was gathered through interviews with the members of the sample of the heads of households (hereafter called parents) by means of a mimeographed schedule. For comparative purposes, the section containing the instruments for measuring attitudes, as well as a question concerning preference in the choice of a marriage partner, were included in the questionnaire given to the sample of students (see Appendix B for copies of the Parents' Schedule and the Students' Questionnaire). Both instruments contain items asking for information on personal characteristics so as to enable the investigator to analyze the results in terms of residence, age, educational attainment, and so on. The section on attitudes contains five scales that are well known to social scientists, plus a battery on Mennonite values constructed by the writer.[1] The English forms of the unpublished scales used are included in Appendix D. The particular instruments were chosen because

[1]For a discussion of the scales used, as well as the type of analysis employed to interpret the results, see Chapter IX.

of their general nature, which reduces the problem of administering them to a population having a European culture. Participant observation among the Paraná Mennonites confirmed the present writer's opinion that they have a "way of thinking" which is quite similar to that of North Americans. It was considered legitimate, therefore, to administer German translations of the North American scales. Because of the unmeasurable effect of any real difference of perspective on the part of the Paraná Mennonites, every effort was made to be very conservative in the analysis and interpretation of the results.[2]

Throughout this study "significant" relationships and differences are those found to be statistically significant at the 5 per cent level, as measured by a Chi-square test, unless there is a specific statement to the contrary. In most of the tests a 2 x 2 contingency table was constructed, and a Chi-square, corrected for continuity, was computed.[3] Other relationships which the present investigator considers important, in spite of a lack of statistical significance, are referred to as "noteworthy." The small numbers involved in some of the analyses, due to simultaneous subsorting by several variables, makes a rigid demand for statistical significance at the 5 per cent level inappropriate.

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[2] Ibid.

[3] See Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1954), p. 384.

The Sample

The investigator used the following procedure in selecting the sample of parents for each community. Subclasses appropriate to the Paraná situation were established for six personal characteristics of all the heads of households in the population. The personal characteristics, and their subclasses, are as follows:

Age. Six age groups were used: 15-24; 25-34; 35-44; 45-54; 55-64; 65 and over. (Due to the small number in many of the categories, five-year age groups were not appropriate.)

Religious Affiliation. Mennonite Brethren, Mennonite, Free Evangelical Mennonite, and Nonmember.

Marital Status of Head of Household. Married, Widowed, Single.

Educational Attainment. Six subclasses in terms of years of school completed, and divided in terms of the frequency distribution of the population: 0-3; 4; 5-6; 7-9; 10-12; 13 and over.

Citizenship Status. Stateless, Naturalized Brazilian, Native-Born Brazilian, Paraguayan (native-born and naturalized), and German (native-born and naturalized).

Occupation. A total of 19 categories was used, but reasons of practicality caused a reduction to the following combinations: Farmers; Craftsmen and Operatives; Laborers; Sales, Service, and Clerical; Managers and Proprietors; and Professionals (including Teacher-Preachers, Teachers, Lawyers, Physicians, and Dentists).

Frequency distributions were made for the subclasses of the six personal characteristics. Sample quotas, proportional to the respective frequencies, were then established. The drawing of the sample was done, as far as was practical, by means of a table of random numbers. The last two or three persons in each sample were chosen by drawing slips from a hat containing all the remaining persons who could satisfy the

stratified proportional quotas. The resultant sample, therefore, is a 20 per cent stratified, proportional sample.[4]

Six substitutions were made for persons in the sample who would not, or could not, participate. Substitutes were chosen in a manner which would make the least alteration in the stratified, proportional quotas (in half the cases exact substitutes were found).

Definition of the Population

An operational definition of Mennonite is necessary for this study, and it is, of necessity, somewhat arbitrary. Various opinions on the subject were found among the Paraná Mennonites themselves. For the purpose of this study, however, a Mennonite is a person born into a family whose sociocultural heritage is identified with the Mennonite colonies of Russia. His relatives are primarily, if not exclusively, others with the same heritage. He speaks a dialect called Mennoniten Platt (more properly, West-preussischen Platt Deutsch), and considers himself to be a part of the Mennonite social group. Such a person is not necessarily a member of a Mennonite church; but persons who have joined other churches are not included in the population. Families in which one of the spouses is a Mennonite, as defined above, are also included if they consider themselves a part of the social group. The population was further restricted to those who are residing permanently in Paraná. Those "temporarily" away from home such as students, soldiers, and young

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[4] In the small rurban community of Guarituba, eight of the 25 households (32 per cent) were drawn.

unmarried workers, are not included in the population, although their existence is noted in Chapter IV.

Two German families of non-Mennonite background, who are members of Mennonite congregations also were included. When these two families were asked whether they were Mennonites, their responses indicated the essentially ethnic nature of the study group. Both responded in the following manner: "I am a member of a Mennonite Church, but I am not a Mennonite." These families, by intermarriage, probably will become Mennonites.

Conclusion

The Mennonites of Paraná number about 2,500 or two-thirds of the 3,700 German-speaking Mennonites in Brazil. This social group is part of a larger one which came to South America from Russia, principally during the early 1930's. Because of their background, they are often called Russian Mennonites. They are part of a religious minority group, but their most distinguishing characteristics in Paraná are those of the ethnic group: a common descent, history, and sociocultural heritage, and a distinctive dialect. All of these are maintained by the practice of endogamous marriage.[5]

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[5]It should be noted that there are some Portuguese-speaking Mennonites in Brazil, whose congregations are the result of evangelistic activity both by Brazilian and North American missionaries. Until recently, however, there has been little meaningful contact between the two groups: one strictly religious; the other socioreligious.

The General Conference Mennonite Church of Paraná maintains one Portuguese-language mission congregation; and the Mennonite Brethren Church of Brazil maintains three in Paraná. (Data are for 1965.)

The Mission Board of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America sponsors work in five congregations, and conducts a school

The presentation will follow the general outline indicated in the Table of Contents. Part I includes the introduction, as well as chapters on historical backgrounds and a review of the pertinent literature. Part II involves an analysis of the demographic situation, including the number, distribution, and characteristics of the population, the vital processes (fertility and mortality), and a brief consideration of migration. Part III considers the chief features of Mennonite social organization. Part IV contains an assessment of the role of the social processes, with special attention being focused on the results of these processes in terms of sociocultural change. Part V is devoted to a summary of the findings and principal conclusions which have been reached through the analyses of the data.

(primary and secondary programs), a Bible Institute, and an orphanage. (Materials secured in an interview with the Rev. John Klassen, Director, Mennonite Brethren Mission, Curitiba, Paraná, July 3, 1965.)

The Mission Board of the Mennonite Church (in North America this group is often referred to as the "Old Mennonite Church") sponsors work in seven congregations and administers four bookstores in the Federal District and the states of Goiás and São Paulo. This group now participates in an organization with the General Conference Mennonites of Paraná for evangelistic activities. (Written Report of the Executive Secretary, Associação Evangélica Menonita, to the Council of [Mennonite] Mission Board Secretaries, September 3, 1965.)

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

The Mennonite churches grew out of the evangelical Anabaptist movement which began in Switzerland in 1525 and independently in the Low Countries shortly thereafter.[1] The two groups later came into contact with each other, and some interchange of ideas took place. One of the most important leaders of the Anabaptists in the Low Countries was Menno Simons, and his name came to be applied both to the Dutch Anabaptists and to the Swiss Brethren, who were known as Mennists and finally as Mennonites.[2]

The Mennonites of Switzerland and southern Germany tended to migrate to the New World, beginning in 1683, whereas their co-religionists in the Low Countries moved eastward.[3] This latter migration was directed to the area near Danzig, in the Vistula River Delta, where the Dutch Anabaptists drained the marshes and began to develop their distinctive sociocultural characteristics. The first Mennonites arrived in the Danzig area about 1547,[4] and they maintained

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[1] See J.C. Wenger, Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1947), pp. 24, 72-75.

[2] See Christian Hege, "Mennist," in The Mennonite Encyclopedia, Harold S. Bender et al. (eds.) (4 vols.; Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955-1959), III, 574.

[3] Wenger, op. cit., p. 111.

[4] Benjamin H. Unruh, Die niederlaendisch-niederdeutschen Hintergruende der mennonitischen Ostwanderungen im 16., 18., und 19. Jahrhundert (Karlsruhe: Heinrich Schneider, 1955), pp. 125, 136-137.

meaningful ties with the Mennonites in the Low Countries for more than two centuries.[5] In Prussia the Mennonites slowly adopted a German-oriented culture, and the German language finally replaced Dutch in the church services about a decade before the migrations to Russia began.[6]

As a result of religious persecution in Prussia, principally due to their refusal to perform military service, the Mennonites sought a new homeland where they might enjoy both freedom of religion and freedom from the harassing tactics of an unfriendly government. An invitation from Catherine the Great, coupled with broad privileges and guarantees, stimulated the migration of many Mennonites from Prussia to southern Russia during the period 1789 to 1850.[7] The Mennonites in Russia, in the unique situation of great civil autonomy for their isolated, closed colonies, developed a culture quite different from that of the Mennonites who remained in Western Europe, and also from that of the ones who migrated to America. Since that time the Russian Mennonites have been considered by the others as a special type.

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[5]See Johan Sjouke Postma, Das niederlaendische Erbe der preussisch-russlaendischen Mennoniten in Europa, Asien, und Amerika (Leeuwarden: Drukkerij A. Jongbloed, 1959), pp. 109-148.

[6]Ibid., pp. 168-170.

[7]There are numerous excellent accounts of this portion of Mennonite history, for example, C. Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites (4th ed. rev. by Cornelius Krahn; Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publication Office, 1957), pp. 384-526; David G. Rempel, "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia: A Study of their Settlements and Economic Development from 1789 to 1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Stanford University, 1933), passim; and Cornelius Krahn, "Russia," Mennonite Encyclopedia, IV, 381-393.

The Russian Period

The 150 years the Mennonites spent in Russia, under conditions in which they were permitted both religious freedom and much political autonomy, resulted in a sociocultural system unique among those of their religious faith. By a decree of the Russian state, the Mennonites were obliged to develop their own system of self-government. The Anabaptists who had always eschewed governmental activities now had to constitute what was practically a state within a state. The inherent contradiction which this involved for them was solved by resorting to a rather technical separation of church and state. But the development of a closely knit social group residing in isolated, all-Mennonite communities, using a language foreign to the Russians and living in a situation where church and society became intimately mixed, if not fused, transformed the Mennonites from a religious sect into an ethnic group. "If they were not a people when they arrived, they were forced into becoming one by the conditions of their settlement."[8]

Their amazing success on the steppes of Russia, first with livestock and then with wheat, enabled them to develop a level of economic prosperity and cultural achievement previously unequaled by rural Mennonites. Before the outbreak of World War I, 80,000 of them owned more than three million acres of land. They had eight industrial firms with almost 1,800 employees, as well as 38 brick and tile factories. At that

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[8] E.K. Francis, "The Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia, 1789-1914: A Sociological Interpretation," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XXV, 3 (July, 1951), 180. This excellent article shows clearly the dilemma in which the Mennonites found themselves in Russia.

time Mennonites produced 6 per cent of all the agricultural machinery of Russia.[9]

Educational and charitable institutions also flourished, including 400 primary schools, 13 secondary schools, four colleges for girls, two normal schools, two trade schools, one commercial college with an eight-year curriculum, a school for deaf and dumb children, a school for deaconesses, and a Bible School. The Mennonites also owned and operated hospitals, mental institutions, orphanages, and old folks' homes.[10]

This progress was made only after an original period of difficult times, and the "Golden Age" of Russian Mennonitism was tarnished by the development of extreme formality and spiritual laxness within the church. This situation finally produced a major denominational division, in addition to numerous minor ones, when the Mennonite Brethren Church was organized in 1860.[11] The main religious body had become an established church, and it exerted severe pressures on those who did not conform to the status quo.

> In the period between 1790 and 1870, the Mennonite sectarians in Russia had become a people whose conspicuous secular successes were bought at the price of institutionalization of religion and secularization of the inner life of the group.[12]

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[9] See Rempel, op. cit., chapters XI, XII, and XIII; also Cornelius Krahn (ed.), From the Steppes to the Prairies (Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publication Office, 1949), p. 6.

[10] See Rempel, op. cit., chapter XIV; Frank H. Epp, Mennonite Exodus (Altona, Manitoba: D.W. Friesen & Sons, Ltd., 1962), pp. 19-22; and P.M. Friesen, Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruederschaft in Russland (1789-1910) im Rahmen der mennonitischen Gesamtgeschichte (Halbstadt, Ukraine: Verlagsgesellschaft Raduga, 1911), pp. 569-668.

[11] Robert Kreider, "The Anabaptist Conception of the Church in the Russian Mennonite Environment, 1789-1870," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XXV, 1 (January, 1951), 17-33.

[12] Francis, op. cit., p. 200.

Migrations to the New World

After the Mennonites of Russia had solved the crisis of providing land for the growing number of their landless brethren in the colonies,[13] by means of a mutual saving fund, and after the first shocks of the religious division had subsided, a new threat clouded their future. In 1870 the Russian government announced that no longer would any minority groups be exempt from military service. The Mennonites sought exemption from the proposed universal conscription, but it became a law in 1874. This threat to one of their most important doctrines (complete nonresistance) set off a migration of about a third of the group to North America, 1873-1880.[14] About 10,000 of them settled in the United States and 8,000 in Canada. Those who remained in Russia developed two major systems of alternative service: work in forestry and a noncombatant medical corps.[15]

Following World War I, and the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, the fortunes of the Mennonites in Russia went into dismal decline and thousands of persons were seized by the desire to migrate to America.

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[13]See Cornelius Krahn, "Mennonite Community Life in Russia," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XVI, 3 (July, 1942), 174-177.

[14]Georg Leibbrandt, "The Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada in 1873-1880," Mennonite Quarterly Review, VI, 4 (October, 1932), 205-226 and VII, 1 (January, 1933), 5-41; and E.K. Francis, In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), p. 28. This book's first chapter contains the best brief description of the Mennonite social organization in Russia readily available in English, see esp. pp. 20-27.

[15]See Jacob Sudermann, "The Origin of Mennonite State Service in Russia, 1870-1880," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XVII, 1 (January, 1943), 23-46.

The reasons for this desire to migrate to the New World following 1917 are clear. The Mennonites, as well as all other German-speaking colonists, were the object of a gradually increasing Russification program. The war with Germany, of course, greatly heightened the desire to wipe out the German cultural islands. All things German were banned during the war; and then came the confusion and terror of the Russian Civil War (1919-1920), the resulting famines and plagues (1921-1922), and the increasing action of the Soviet government against independent farmers, large and small, which broke up the Mennonites' way of life. The communization of agriculture, plus the attempt to train the children in atheism, gave the Mennonites a strong urge to flee.[16]

During the 1920's the Mennonites, as well as other German-speaking colonists, suffered ever-increasing pressures and persecutions. An immigration committee was set up to aid Mennonites who wished to move to Canada. This committee drew up a list of the reasons for the desire to migrate, which are basically the three already mentioned: economic, sociocultural, and religious.[17] During the 1920's approximately 20,000 of Russia's best farmers fled the Workers' Paradise and migrated to Canada.[18]

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[16]See Benjamin H. Unruh, "The Background and Causes of the Flight of the Mennonites from Russia in 1929," Mennonite Quarterly Review, IV, 4 (October, 1930), 267-281, and V, 1 (January, 1931), 28-41.

[17]See Epp, op. cit., p. 48. It is noteworthy that this commission was called Verband der Buerger hollaendischer Herkunft. On this occasion, as well as after World War II, successful attempts to link Mennonites to their Dutch origins aided their migration to the Western Hemisphere.

[18]Ibid., p. 105.

The majority of those who went to Canada were the more prosperous Mennonites of southern Russia. Then in 1929 Stalin decreed that village communists could penalize farmers who did not pay their grain tax in wheat, with a fine up to five times the value of the levy in wheat. The grain harvest that year was quite small, and impossible taxes were imposed to furnish a legal pretext for action against the Kulacs. The Mennonites in Siberia were especially hurt by these developments, and in 1929, 15,000 of the faithful (Mennonites and other German-speaking colonists) camped at the gates of Moscow.[19] The Soviet government sent more than half of them back to Siberia, but the reaction of the western world to these events convinced the authorities to release 6,000 peasants, among whom were 4,000 Mennonites.[20] Some of these persons were able to go to Canada, but most of them went to South America. The largest group settled in the Paraguayan Chaco, where a group of ultraconservative Russian Mennonites, who had left Canada in 1926, had already taken up residence.[21] About 1,100 of the refugees entered Brazil during 1930, and settled in the virgin forests of the mountains of Santa Catarina. In 1934 about 180 persons arrived in Brazil via Harbin, China, where Mennonites from the

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[19] B.H. Unruh, "Background and Causes," p. 280; and H.S. Bender, "Editorial," Mennonite Quarterly Review, IV, 4 (October, 1930), 236.

[20] Bender, "Editorial."

[21] Joseph Winfield Fretz, Immigrant Group Settlements in Paraguay (North Newton, Kansas: By the author, 1962), pp. 83-103.

colonies located near the Amur River, on the Chinese border, spent several years as refugees after their flight from Russia in 1930-1931.[22]

After World War II approximately 4,850 Mennonite refugees went to Paraguay, and 1,200 settled in Uruguay, but none of them went first to Brazil. Later on, however, some of them moved to Brazil.[23]

This brief review of the history of the Russian Mennonites demonstrates the validity of the oft-repeated statement that their history is largely one of migration. In the course of centuries of persecution, they developed an almost automatic response to any threat to their faith: withdrawal, flight, emigration.[24] This response brought the Mennonite pioneers to North America in the 19th century; and a similar reaction in the 20th century carried the refugees from Communism and war to South America. In Brazil, as in Paraguay, Mennonites once again had to confront pioneer conditions of settlement.

The Mennonite Communities in Santa Catarina

The situation of the Mennonite refugees, after their flight from Moscow to Berlin in November, 1929, soon became desperate. It was impossible for them either to go en masse to Canada or to remain in Germany. Arrangements had not been completed for them to settle in Paraguay, and some did not wish to go there. However, permission was granted for them

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[22]See H.S. Bender, "Harbin (Manchuria) Refugees," Mennonite Encyclopedia, II, 657; and Cornelius Krahn, "Amur," Mennonite Encyclopedia, I, 111-112.

[23]See H.S. Bender, "Mennonites in South America," Mennonite Encyclopedia, IV, 583-584.

[24]See Francis, Utopia, p. 35.

to immigrate to Brazil, and Dr. Benjamin H. Unruh, himself a Russian Mennonite who had migrated to Germany, encouraged those who wished to leave for the New World to consider Brazil. He succeeded in persuading one of the best-educated ministers, Professor Heinrich Martins, to serve as the leader of those persons who chose Brazil as their new home. The first contingent of refugees left Hamburg on January 16, 1930, and arrived in Santa Catarina in February.[25] Others soon followed and settled on land acquired from the Hanseatic Colonization Company.

The Mennonites wished to settle in one geographical location in order to establish their community organization on the basis of the Mennonite patterns which existed in the colonies in Russia. The only tract of land owned by the German company, which was large enough for this, was a mountain valley located on the Upper Krauel River about 95 miles from Blumenau. The valley extended for 12 miles along the Krauel River, and was covered with virgin forest. The primitive conditions in which the colonists found themselves, and the isolation from transportation and market facilities reduced them to a level of hoe and fire agriculture. By June, 1930, all the land in the Krauel Valley had been allocated, and almost 100 families were settled on a high plateau about 18 miles from the original location. If the situation along the Krauel

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[25]These data were secured through interviews with Prof. Martins in Blumenau, Santa Catarina, April 24, 1965. See also H.S. Bender, "Brazil," Mennonite Encyclopedia, I, 408-410; and Walter Quiring, Russlanddeutsche suchen eine Heimat (Karlsruhe: Heinrich Schneider, 1938), pp. 115-128.

was unfortunate, the second place, known as Stoltz Plateau, was "an almost criminally impossible location."[26]

The colony in the Krauel Valley was named Witmarsum, after the birthplace of Menno Simons, as a recognition of the aid which was received from the Dutch Mennonites. The settlement on Stoltz Plateau was named Auhagen, for a German official in Moscow who aided them in their flight from Russia. The first years were ones of great difficulties and considerable suffering. The two communities attained their maximum population about 1934, at which time Witmarsum contained approximately 160 families, and Auhagen about 102, with a total of almost 1,500 persons.[27]

As early as 1933 a few families began seeking a more promising area for settlement. Some moved to Blumenau, Santa Catarina, and others to the city of São Paulo; but those leaving soon were directed to Curitiba, the rapidly growing capital of Paraná. In the mid-1930's about 65 families moved there from the settlement on the Stoltz Plateau. These

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[26] H.S. Bender, "Krauel," Mennonite Encyclopedia, III, 233-234. The present writer's impression, after a visit to the area, was that such a location practically amounted to banishment. The terrain is suited only to the use of hoe and ax, and even today the inhabitants remain on a level of creature existence. The Krauel Valley is considerably more favorable, but its isolation from markets was a great hindrance to progress.

[27] It is difficult to determine exactly the size of the population, due to conflicting evidence, most of which is an educated guess. The above data are based on Bender, "Krauel," for Witmarsum, and on data from the Mennonite newspaper printed there during the 1930's. See especially H.H. Loewen and P. Klassen, "Statistisches vom Krauel," Die Bruecke, II, 4 (Juli-August, 1933), 5. Data for Auhagen (Stoltz Plateau) secured in an interview with Heinrich Neufeld, one-time Colony Manager, April 19, 1965.

formed the majority of the people who established the first Mennonite locality groups in and near Curitiba, namely, Vila Guaíra, and Boqueirão, which consisted of three subdivisions (Boqueirão I, Xaxím, and Boqueirão II--settled in that order).[28] The origins of the Paraná communities are described in Chapter IV.

Problem of Nomenclature

The present writer was faced with a dilemma concerning what terms to use in referring to the Mennonite locality groups. In Russia the "colony" (Kolonie) was used to speak of the entire Mennonite locality group which composed one coordinated political entity. In later years, especially in Siberia, the locality group was sometimes referred to as a "settlement" and its subdivisions were called colonies. Such a situation led to an indiscriminate use of the terms.[29] In Brazil the Mennonites began to refer to their individual farms with the term Kolonie, in accordance with the Brazilian practice of calling the farmer a colono. It is clear, therefore, that a simple translation of the German terms used by the Mennonites can lead only to confusion.

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[28]Cf. Walter Quiring, Im Schweisse Deines Angesichts (Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers, Ltd., 1953), p. 117, who confuses the order of settlement in Boqueirão. See also Peter Klassen, "The Mennonites of Brazil," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XI, 2 (April, 1937), 112.

[29]See, for example, Walter Quiring, Deutsche erschliessen den Chaco (Karlsruhe: Heinrich Schneider, 1936), p. 13, where the Fernheim Colony is called a settlement, and a subdivision is called a colony. Every other reference the present writer ever saw or heard about Fernheim has termed it a colony.

The present writer accepts the distinction between settlement and colony, as used by Fretz.[30] He observes that a colony implies an attempt to transplant as completely as possible the way of life which the colonists followed in their earlier place of residence (often called "mother colony" by the Mennonites). The terms "colony" and "colonization" also imply greater degrees of social cohesion, as well as a systematic attempt to transplant the entire social and cultural milieu of the group, than do the terms "settle" and "settlement."

In light of the above-mentioned distinction, the present writer concludes that Witmarsum and Auhagen may be called colonies. Each one was divided into three parts, as far as school administration was concerned. In Witmarsum each geographical subdivision had its own system of local government, which in turn was also a part of a colony-wide government. The Auhagen colony did not have as complex a system of local government.

The locality groups in Paraná, in the present writer's opinion, should not be termed colonies, with the exception of Witmarsum. The other settlements were characterized from the beginning by many of the factors usually associated with colonies (common language, religion, background, and ethnic origin), but those persons who established them specifically avoided transplanting their traditional type of colony organization and administration. In this study the locality groups in and around Curitiba, Paraná, are called settlements or communities.

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[30] See especially Fretz, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

It is also necessary to consider the problem of whether the various locality groups are communities or neighborhoods. In Santa Catarina the subdivisions of the colonies were called villages by their inhabitants. The present writer decided to consider them as neighborhoods of the larger community, or colony. In Santa Catarina the colonies were not large enough to produce separate communities within their borders. In Paraná each settlement may be considered a community. Boqueirão is composed of three neighborhoods--Boqueirão I, Xaxím, and Boqueirão II. The urban settlement, Vila Guaíra, may be thought of as a neighborhood, in terms of the city of Curitiba, but it is a community as far as Mennonite society is concerned. In making these distinctions between neighborhoods and communities, the present writer concurs with Smith that "in many cases it is difficult to draw an exact dividing line between the two."[31] The perspective used here is strictly sociological, because any other approach, such as the number and types of service centers, is less applicable to the situation involved.[32] Although the above differentiations are far from perfect, any other solution appears to be less satisfactory to the present writer.

Form of Settlement

Due to the mountainous terrain, the Mennonites in Santa Catarina were unable to establish the settlement pattern which they used on the

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[31] T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life (3rd ed.; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), p. 377.

[32] The usage followed here is in harmony with the generally accepted concept of community. See, for example, Henry Pratt Fairchild (ed.), Dictionary of Sociology (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944), p. 52.

steppes of Russia. There they lived in agricultural villages and farmed the surrounding area according to an open-field system. The typical village was bisected by a broad, straight street, on each side of which were located the neatly spaced homesteads with farm buildings and gardens.[33] In the Witmarsum colony three line villages were established along the primitive road (picada) which paralleled the Krauel River. Each family lived on its own plot of land, which extended back from the road. Undoubtedly the physical topography was the cause of the adoption of the line village as the form of settlement, which is such a common feature in the German settlements in southern Brazil.[34]

In Auhagen the colonists built their homes along three trails which followed the ridge of the mountain top on which they were located. These three sections of the colony might also be termed line villages, although they were not as clearly differentiated organizationally as the line villages in the Witmarsum colony. In both colonies, as noted earlier, the three line villages are considered as neighborhoods in the colony, which is properly considered a community, from a sociological perspective.[35]

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[33] See Cornelius Krahn, "Mennonite Community Life in Russia," pp. 174-177.

[34] The term "line village" aptly describes this form of settlement. It was first used as the name for a separate type of settlement pattern by T. Lynn Smith in Farm Trade Centers in Louisiana, 1901-1931 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 234, 1933).

[35] In Witmarsum one of the three line villages had the same name as the whole colony. The three were: Witmarsum, Waldheim, and Gnadental. In Auhagen the three were called by the names of the roads on which they were located: Anna, Urú, and Paca. See "Mitteilungen von Auhagen-Paca," Die Bruecke, III, 4 (Juli-August, 1934), 7-8.

Community Organization

The structural aspects of community organization in the two colonies bore a modified resemblance to that in Russia. Each village had an assembly composed of the heads of households, and an elected village magistrate (Schulze) who was responsible for coordinating the group activities of the village and its assembly. Since the villages were actually neighborhoods, the work of the assembly and the magistrate was limited to tasks such as supervising the school (Dorfschule) and maintaining the road in their area. All the heads of families also were members of the colony assembly. This assembly elected a general manager given the title of Siedlungsleiter, who, along with his assistants, was responsible for the effective administration of the entire colony.

Inasmuch as Brazilian law did not grant civil autonomy to the colony organization, the effectiveness of the system depended upon the voluntary cooperation of the inhabitants. In Russia the elected colony president or superintendent (Oberschulze) was given extensive powers, and personally exercised the functions of mayor, tax collector, judge, and chief of police. His word was law, and frequently such men were virtual dictators.[36] In Brazil such an autocratic system was impossible, due to the lack of civil

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[36] For a description of the system of community organization and government in the Mennonite colonies in Russia, see Rempel, op. cit., chapters II and VII. Brief descriptions may be found in Francis, Utopia, pp. 20-22, and in E.K. Francis, "Mennonite Institutions in Early Manitoba: A Study of their Origins," Agricultural History, XXII, 3 (July, 1948), 144-155.

autonomy. Although the community organization resembled that used in Russia, it lacked the ability to be effective as soon as there was any sizable opposition.

The colonies in Santa Catarina also were organized economically. The representative of the German government helped them establish a cooperative to coordinate the business activities of the colony. All heads of households were members of the cooperative, which in effect amounted to a community-wide economic organization which paralleled the community organization itself. The cooperative was very effective in protecting the colonists from private merchants who exploited individual farmers and often bound them in "debt peonage." Without the benefit of the coordinated efforts of the cooperative, it is difficult to imagine how they could have avoided the economic fate of many of the non-Mennonite families in the area.[37]

The establishment of a cooperative with a community-wide membership was certainly an innovation for the Mennonites. Although they had had many mutual-aid organizations in Russia, there was no commercial cooperative with an obligatory, community-wide membership. After the first years, when such close economic cooperation was probably necessary for survival, many Mennonites became dissatisfied with the situation. Although the cooperative technically was an independent organization, its business manager came to figure as a subordinate member of the community-leadership hierarchy. In time the two organizations experienced a fusion of functions and anyone who wished to establish a private business, against the wishes

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[37] Klassen, op. cit., p. 110.

of the cooperative, found himself boycotted by the community organization as well.

The fact that the colony leaders from 1930 to 1949 were all ministers led to a mixing of church, community, and cooperative affairs. Also, the first leaders were members of the minority religious group in the community. Dissatisfaction with any part of the situation could be interpreted as unrest with other aspects of the system, and it is little wonder that the conflicts which arose over the development of such an interwoven social-economic-religious leadership often were tinged with denominational overtones. Finally, a colony leader who was a member of the majority denomination joined the minority church. Shortly thereafter (1949), the former group withdrew from the community-wide Commission for Church Affairs (KfK), and within a year families began to move to new settlements in Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul. Most of those who moved were members of the majority church, and they carefully avoided the establishment of cooperatives in the new settlements. Before they left, their leader repeatedly criticized the Cooperative-Community Organization which had developed in the colonies, and asserted that its leaders had imposed a dictatorship on the colonists which was patterned on European models.[38] By 1950 Witmarsum was split between those who wanted to maintain a strong colony organization, and those who desired that individual, free enterprise be the new order in economic affairs.[39]

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[38]See, for example, the minutes of the executive committee of the Witmarsum colony, January 6, 1949, p. 2. (In the files of the Cooperativa Agro-Pecuária Witmarsum, Ltda., Witmarsum, Paraná.)

[39]For a commentary on the situation at that time see J. Schellenberg, "Brasilien," Der Bote, XXVI, 39 (28. September, 1949), 6-7.

Although many persons who left Witmarsum at that time gave economic reasons for their move, the present writer was impressed by the large number of informants who mentioned their disagreement with the development of the Cooperative-Community leadership into an all-encompassing power which governed the community with only a façade of democracy. This reaction, whether well founded or not, was an important factor in the breakup of the colony in the Krauel Valley, 1949-1952.

In 1950 about half of the families moved out of Witmarsum, and thus it became impossible for those who remained to maintain a closed Mennonite community. They virtually were forced to sell their land to non-Mennonites who had gained possession of the properties vacated earlier by the dissatisfied colonists. The official community resolution which contains the reasons for their decision to move to "New Witmarsum" in Paraná clearly states that this move was forced on them when the migrating colonists sold their land to whomever would buy it. This resulted in the collapse of the community structure and organizations.[40]

Summary

A brief review of the developments in the colonies in Santa Catarina has convinced the present writer that the Mennonites in Brazil were certain to lose much of their traditional social organization for the following reasons: (1) Brazilian law did not permit sufficient civil autonomy to ensure the required community-wide participation on which traditional

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[40]"Gemeindespruch der Siedlerversammlung," Witmarsum, Santa Catarina, March 27, 1951. Article 1. (In the files of the Cooperativa Mista Agro-Pecuária Witmarsum, Ltda., Witmarsum, Paraná.)

Mennonite social organization is based; (2) many of the younger generation never were convinced that in a democratic country the communal type of community organization was superior; and (3) the numerous conflicts which developed were almost inevitable in a small group of people--with varied regional backgrounds, abilities, and interests--which was thrust into an isolated and extremely difficult physical situation. This third factor caused many persons to reject the whole system. The fact that the colony survived as long as it did is eloquent testimony to the importance of their common language, religion, and ethnicity. It was difficult for the older members of the colony to convince the younger ones that the system was actually workable, for after 1914 it had been in a state of increasing disintegration in Russia itself. The result was that many of the colonists had an urge to get away from it all.

Even if the Mennonites had settled in a region more suitable for scientific farming, the breakdown in the traditional social organization still would have taken place. Only geographical isolation, coupled with considerable civil autonomy, makes possible a self-sufficient, communal type of life such as that which existed in Russia, and still prevails in the Mennonite colonies in Paraguay, Bolivia, Mexico, and British Honduras. The Brazilian Mennonites have entered the twentieth century socially and politically, and this has meant the end of the way of life known in Russia.

CHAPTER III

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

During most of the Mennonites' denominational existence, published materials concerning them were written by their theological and ecclesiastical enemies. The results were understandably less than favorable to the nonconformist sect. Most of these materials are polemical in nature, and do not approach the subject in an objective manner. The orientation has been anecdotal, or, in Windelband's terms, ideographic.[1] Only since the latter part of the 19th century have scholars undertaken a serious study of the social and cultural features of the Mennonites, or Anabaptists, as their spiritual and social ancestors were called. The early foundations of Anabaptist-Mennonite research were completed by Ernst Troeltsch and Max Weber, who saw the Anabaptists as an example of the sect.[2]

Mennonite and non-Mennonite scholars recently have given considerable impetus to the study of Mennonite history. The leader of this movement was Professor Harold S. Bender. He established the Mennonite Historical Society and its organ, The Mennonite Quarterly Review, which

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[1] See Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), p. 18.

[2] See, for example, Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches (trans. Olive Wyon; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931), pp. 694-699, and 705-706; and Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion (trans. Ephraim Fischoff; Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), pp. 65 and 93. For a review of the historiographical literature, see Guy F. Hershberger (ed.), The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision: A Sixtieth Anniversary Tribute to Harold S. Bender (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1957), pp. 1-10.

has published historical materials concerning the Anabaptists, as well as current Mennonite research.[3]

Although most of the work has been focused on their religious beliefs, organization, and behavior, some has been done on other aspects of Mennonite social organization, especially the family. This latter research, however, has emphasized the study of family names and the history of particular families,[4] and most of it has been concerned with the Mennonites of Europe and North America.

Research among the Mennonites who lived in Russia has involved, to a certain degree, a sociological approach. This is true of the work on the Mennonites of Russia, per se, as well as that done in recent years among the Russian Mennonites in North and South America. Although the dissertations of Ehrt[5] and Rempel[6] may be considered historical studies, they include some analysis of social institutions. As a result there is some documented information on the demographic situation, education and schools, religion and church, government and politics, economics, and

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[3]For a review of Anabaptist-Mennonite research, see Ernst H. Correll, "Harold S. Bender and Anabaptist Research," in The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision, Hershberger (ed.), pp. 13-28.

[4]See Kurt Kauenhoven, "Familienkundliche Fragen der Mennonitenforschung," in Jahrbuch der Mennoniten in Suedamerika, 1961, Henrique Ens and Gustav E. Reimer (eds.) (Curitiba: Tipografia Santa Cruz, Ltda., 1961), pp. 31-42, 72.

[5]Adolf Ehrt, Das Mennonitentum in Russland von seiner Einwanderung bis zur Gegenwart (Langensalza: Julius Beltz Verlag, 1932).

[6]David G. Rempel, "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia: A Study of their Settlements and Economic Development from 1789 to 1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Stanford University, 1933).

community organizations and services of the Russian Mennonites.[7]

The Ethnic Group Perspective

North American Mennonites are members of several divisions of a religious minority group; and the Russian Mennonites properly may be considered an ethnic group. This fact has made them the subject of sociological, anthropological, and geographical studies. Their successful colonization efforts in Mexico, British Honduras, Bolivia, Uruguay, Brazil, and especially Paraguay, has attracted the attention of several social scientists.

Perhaps the most detailed analysis of the Mennonites as an ethnic group has been that of E.K. Francis. His study of the Russian Mennonites in Manitoba reflects his interest in the analysis of ethnic groups as a social type.[8] Francis noted that the ethnic group shares a common culture, language, descent (or assumed descent), history, political organization,

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[7]This term is used to distinguish the Mennonites who came to the western hemisphere from Russia from the rest of their brethren in the Americas. Their sociocultural characteristics are distinct from those who came to the New World from Germany and Switzerland. The majority of the Mennonites in North America are descendents of immigrants who began arriving in 1683 and now reside principally in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Oregon, and Ontario, Canada. The Russian Mennonites arrived in 1873-1884, 1921-1927, 1929-1930, and a few after World War II. They are found mainly in Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, North Dakota, California, and Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Canada. See C.F. Klassen, "Canada," in The Mennonite Encyclopedia, Harold S. Bender et al. (eds.) (4 vols.; Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955-1959), I, 501-505; and Harold S. Bender, "United States of America," Mennonite Encyclopedia, IV, 776-782.

[8]See E.K. Francis, "The Nature of the Ethnic Group," American Journal of Sociology, LII, 5 (March, 1947), 393-400.

value-orientation, and a tendency toward residential exclusiveness. These factors produce a strong "we-feeling" among the members of the group. He also observed that once the ethnic group has reached a certain maturity, "the elements which have conditioned it in the beginning may disappear, change, or be supplanted by others, without affecting its coherence and the 'communauté de conscience' [we-feeling] of its members."[9]

In terms of this frame of reference, Francis analyzed the Russian Mennonites who established colonies in Manitoba. He demonstrated that this group, which began as a religious sect, became an ethnic group during its years of residence in West Prussia and Russia.[10] As it developed into an ethnic group, its members came to view their entire culture as part of their application of the Scriptures to daily life. Neither they nor the out-group recognized that many of their cultural traits actually were modifications of their Dutch and Prussian heritage.[11] Francis demonstrated that the Mennonites' culture and value-orientations were those of the peasant type. But their particular way of life was so distinctive that they even considered themselves different from other Mennonites. The latter group also concurs with this opinion.[12] Perhaps Francis' greatest contribution to an understanding of the Russian Mennonites was his lucid

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[9] Ibid., p. 400.

[10] See E.K. Francis, "The Russian Mennonites: From Religious to Ethnic Group," American Journal of Sociology, LIV, 2 (September, 1948), 101-107.

[11] See E.K. Francis, "Mennonite Institutions in Early Manitoba: A Study of their Origins," Agricultural History, XXII, 3 (July, 1948), 144-155.

[12] See E.K. Francis, "The Adjustment of a Peasant Group to a Capitalistic Economy: The Manitoba Mennonites," Rural Sociology, XVII, 3 (September, 1954), 218-228.

analysis of the dilemma which developed as a result of the autonomy given to their colonies in Russia. He clearly shows that the Mennonites adopted many of the techniques of the "world" to maintain social control when they had to deal with the imperfect humans within their own group. This secularization and institutionalization of the Mennonite faith and life produced internal conflicts and, finally, religious schism. More important, from a sociological viewpoint, was the development of the Mennonites in Russia into an ethnic group which resembles closely the pure form of the theoretical type.[13]

The Colonization and Settlement Perspective

Several studies have been made of the Russian Mennonites in Paraguay, and the tendency has been to give a general description of the way of life in their colonies. Krause's dissertation describes the climate, land-use patterns, agricultural and industrial activities, and community services such as the cooperatives, schools, and hospitals.[14]

Joseph Winfield Fretz, a Mennonite sociologist, has made significant contributions to the growing literature concerning Mennonite social organization in Paraguay and Mexico. His work combines historical and sociological approaches in an admirable way, and he presents in tabular form the statistical data which the Mennonites in Paraguay have gathered

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[13]See E.K. Francis, "The Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia, 1789-1914: A Sociological Interpretation," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XXV, 3 (July, 1951), 173-182; and Francis, In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), passim.

[14]See Annemarie E. Krause, Mennonite Settlement in the Paraguayan Chaco, Department of Geography Research Paper No. 25, University of Chicago (Chicago: By the author, 1952).

on a regular basis. He describes the society and culture in the following terms: home and family, education and school, religion and church, government and social welfare, manners and customs, health and medical facilities, agriculture and farming, and economics and industry.[15] The book was written for general readers, which probably explains the lack of precision in the classification of his material. This fact may also explain the lack of a demographic analysis. Fretz was interested in discovering the characteristics of successful colonization efforts, and the Paraguayan Mennonites are one of the best examples of such success. His work demonstrates that the Russian Mennonites are indeed an ethnic group, and that this fact, plus their substantial use of cooperative and mutual-aid efforts, have made them successful colonists in areas where others have failed.[16]

Fretz notes that the Mennonites in Paraguay have continued most of the mutual-aid organizations and activities which they developed in Russia. These include community schools, the Waisenamt (mutual trust organization for orphaned minors), land purchase fund, stock association (a type of cooperative breeders' association), fire insurance and fire brigades, old folks' homes, orphanages, hospitals, voluntary midwifery, village "work bees," and numerous other activities. The Russian Mennonite

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[15]Joseph Winfield Fretz, Pilgrims in Paraguay (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1957).

[16]See Joseph Winfield Fretz, Immigrant Group Settlements in Paraguay (North Newton, Kansas: By the author, 1962); Fretz, "Factors Contributing to Success and Failure in Mennonite Colonization," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XXIV, 2 (April, 1950), 130-135; and Fretz, "Mutual Aid among Mennonites, I," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XIII, 1 (January, 1939), 28-58.

colonists in Mexico also continue such group-oriented programs.[17] Fretz concludes that successful Mennonite colonization requires favorable laws and concessions (such as was the case in Russia, and continues today in Mexico, British Honduras, and Paraguay), the traditional emphasis on discipleship and suffering, the practice of mutual aid, and the belief and practice of the doctrine of nonconformity. Factors which have contributed to the failure of Mennonite colonization include the loss of the "we-feeling" (a form of secularization), sharp internal conflicts, lack of adequate leadership, and overwhelming economic difficulties (poor soil, lack of markets, and credit facilities). Among the Mennonites, says Fretz, "colonization efforts are largely successful or unsuccessful to the degree to which the colonists in question as individuals and as a group are committed to an unqualified following of Christ."[18]

Hack's recent analysis of the Mennonites in the Paraguayan Chaco is a happy combination of sociology, anthropology, geography, and economics.[19] He also was interested in the colonization efforts of the Mennonites. His earlier investigation of the Dutch colonies in Brazil has led him to conclusions concerning the success and failure of foreign colonization which were similar to those of Fretz.[20] Hack was impressed

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[17]See Joseph Winfield Fretz, Mennonite Colonization in Mexico (Akron, Pa.: Mennonite Central Committee, 1945), passim.

[18]Fretz, "Factors," p. 135; see also Fretz, Mennonite Colonization: Lessons from the Past for the Future (Akron, Pa.: Mennonite Central Committee, 1944), passim.

[19]H. Hack, Die Kolonisation der Mennoniten im Paraguayischen Chaco (Amsterdam: Koenigliches Tropeninstitut, Abteilung fuer kulturelle und physische Anthropologie, Nr. 65 [1961]).

[20]See H. Hack, Dutch Group Settlement in Brazil (Amsterdam: Royal

with the importance of a favorable age composition of the population, the need for good leadership, the importance of choosing a suitable site, the effect of the economic organization on the success or failure of the colony, and the problems which are associated with the "closed colony."[21] He analyzed the Mennonite colonization efforts in the Paraguayan Chaco in the light of his conclusions concerning successful Dutch colonization, and in terms of the anthropological concepts of "ethos" and "cultural focus." His principal hypothesis was that the perseverance and success of the Mennonite colonies in the Chaco would be directly proportionate to the extent to which the concept of nonconformity to the world served as the cultural focus of each one.[22] The analysis of the age composition of the population is the first instance of published research on the Mennonites which includes age-sex pyramids and fertility ratios. The description of the colonization site involves considerable geographic material, and the treatment of tho economic organization in the colonies was made possible by the statistical records kept by the Mennonites.

Hack's analysis of the role of the doctrine of nonconformity in the three Chaco colonies demonstrates that the ultraconservative Mennonites of the Menno colony (who migrated from Canada to avoid English influence) are in fact the most persevering; but they are not the most successful in terms of economic gain, or in providing educational, medical, and recreational services. The hypothesis is sustained in terms of greater

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Tropical Institute, Department of Cultural and Physical Anthropology, Nr. 61, 1959).

[21] Ibid., pp. 53-67.

[22] Hack, Die Kolonisation, p. 8.

loyalty to the values of the peasant culture of the Russian Mennonites, and in the lower rate of migration from the colony.[23] This important work is the first about Mennonites to orient the entire study toward the testing of a scientific hypothesis in such a clear-cut way.

The Social System Perspective

As noted earlier, most of the materials concerning Mennonites have been of an anecdotal nature. Mennonites' interest in history has always been considerable. The efforts of Horsch, Bender, Bainton, Crous, Correll, and numerous others have produced an objective and reliable history, but their work was not oriented to a theoretical or sociological perspective. Francis' approach, of course, is sociological, and involves the concept of the ethnic group. In most of his writings he refers occasionally to the "societal system" or the "social system" of the Mennonites; but this perspective is definitely secondary to his analysis.

Ever since the 1920's the concept of the social system has been gaining acceptance as a theoretical orientation for sociological research. Credit for this is due largely to P.A. Sorokin.[24] The concept of the

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[23] Ibid., pp. 220-225. It should be noted, however, that the construction of the Pan-American highway through the colonies is causing a new wave of migration from the Menno Colony.

[24] Sorokin utilized this concept in various of his early works published in English during the late 1920's. He says he developed the concept of social systems in his 1920 Russian work, Systems of Sociology. See P.A. Sorokin, A Long Journey: The Autobiography of Pitirim A. Sorokin (Boston: College and University Press, 1963), p. 96.

social system has been utilized in a variety of ways by later sociologists, most of whom are students of Sorokin. Perhaps the most involved model of "social system" as a tool for the analysis of specific social groups and social institutions is that of Charles P. Loomis.[25] It is used by Fretz to describe the Fernheim colony located in the Paraguayan Chaco.[26]

Loomis himself analyzed the Old Order Amish, a religious group historically related to the Mennonites, in terms of his Processually Articulated Structural Model.[27] Although this model emphasizes the importance of patterned social behavior, social interaction, and the complex relationship of the component parts of a social system--all of which function interdependently--the present writer is convinced that the model is more a pedagogical device than an acceptable outline for the description of a previously unstudied social group. For this reason he adopts the concept of "social system" used by T. Lynn Smith.[28] The concept of "social system" in this sense includes not only patterned social interaction, but also the cultural traits, skills and techniques involved in the functioning of the system.[29] In other words, this

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[25]Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems: Essays on their Persistence and Change (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1960), pp. 4-47.

[26]Fretz, Immigrant Group Settlements, pp. 107-125.

[27]Loomis, op. cit., pp. 212-248.

[28]Smith utilizes the concept in his analysis of "systems of agriculture." See T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life (3rd ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), pp. 324-362; and Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (3rd ed.; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), pp. 357-390.

[29]See Smith, Rural Life, p. 324.

perspective recognizes that the organized way of life of the group under consideration is composed of a complex series of social and cultural components which are interdependent upon one another and affect one another in such a manner as to make possible a coordinated functioning of the entire arrangement.

This concept is a more accurate representation of the sociocultural reality with which an investigator is confronted, and is the perspective adopted by the present writer. This frame of reference is used by Smith to analyze the highly integrated components of two rural social systems; specifically, the entities which have as their cores the large, landed estate and the family-sized farm.[30]

The Brazilian Background

Southern Brazil received numerous German immigrants after 1850,[31] and considerable material exists concerning the acculturation and assimilation of Germans in Brazilian culture and society.[32] The effect of their presence in southern Brazil has been quite remarkable. As one Brazilian anthropologist noted, "the German element was the principal reason for the transformation of the cultural landscape of southern

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[30]See T. Lynn Smith, "Aportaciones para el estudio de los dos sistemas sociales rurales," in Memoria del VII Congreso Latinoamericano de Sociología, Sociología y sociedad en Latinoamérica: estudios sobre su desarrollo (Bogotá: Asociación Colombiana de Sociología, 1965), I, 190-210; also Smith (ed.), Agrarian Reform in Latin America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), pp. 15-17.

[31]See Smith, Brazil, pp. 406-408.

[32]Emilio Willems has been quite active in this study. See especially A aculturação dos alemães no Brasil (São Paulo: Companhia Editôra Nacional, 1946).

Brazil . . . ."[33] This immigration, as well as the transformation mentioned above, took place long before the Mennonites arrived in Brazil in 1930. It is noteworthy, however, that their manner of life in Santa Catarina was considerably more similar to that of the Teuto-Brazilians than it was to that which existed in their colonies in Russia. This was especially true of settlement forms and systems of agriculture. In general the processes of acculturation and assimilation among the Mennonites are not as advanced as those of other German-speaking colonists described in the extant literature. This is due, of course, to their relatively recent arrival, and to the fact that they are an ethnic group, rather than a national group.

The background for an understanding of the social situation in Paraná may be found in a variety of available publications. Perhaps the most helpful synthesis is found in the book by Wilson Martins.[34] The "cultural landscape" in southern Brazil, says Martins, is so different from that of tropical Brazil due to the presence of considerable numbers of European immigrants, and to the absence of the Portuguese. This permitted the establishment of family-sized farms, rather than fazendas, with their accompanying system of slavery. The beneficent results of these differences are easily seen today.[35]

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[33]Arthur Ramos, Introdução à antropologia brasileira (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Editôra da Casa do Estudante do Brasil, 1947), II, 219.

[34]Wilson Martins, Um Brasil diferente: ensaio sôbre fenómenos de aculturação no Paraná (São Paulo: Editôra Anhembí Ltda., 1955).

[35]For an analysis of the great difference in the effects of the social systems of the family-sized farm, when compared with those of the large-estate system, see T. Lynn Smith, "Algumas considerações sôbre o Estatuto da Lavoura Canavieira," Jurídica, XXVIII, 82 (julho-setembro de 1963), 297-308.

The Mennonites in Paraná have repeated some of the experiences of earlier immigrants in the state, including the attempt to grow wheat, and the combination of fire agriculture and advanced plow culture.[36]

The Mennonites in Brazil

Until the present time no serious study of the Mennonites of Brazil has been published. The most helpful description of the first 20 years in Brazil is given by J. Winfield Fretz.[37] The treatment, of course, is quite brief, and there is no analysis of the social or demographic situation. A Brazilian Mennonite leader, Peter Klassen, has written several articles of great value for an understanding of the difficult situation in which the Mennonites found themselves in the Santa Catarina settlements.[38] Klassen notes the important role of the cooperatives in aiding the Mennonites achieve some degree of financial stability. He indicates the difficulty of maintaining their culture in such an inhospitable geographical environment, and the inability to teach their own children in school and church during the period of Vargas' nationalization program.

References to the Mennonites in Paraná are sparse. Waibel visited the Boqueirão community, located on the edge of Curitiba, in the late 1940's. He says the Mennonites there were unaware of the Dutch settlement in Carambeí (settled in 1911), "and they did not understand my

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[36] Martins, op. cit., pp. 56-59, 185.

[37] J. Winfield Fretz, "Mennonites in Brazil," in Pilgrims in Paraguay, pp. 169-186.

[38] See Peter Klassen, "The Mennonites of Brazil," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XI, 2 (April, 1937), 107-118; and Klassen, "Mennonites in Brazil," Mennonite Life, II, 1 (January, 1947), 37-43.

question about the origin of their agricultural system."[39] Various writers have noted the Mennonites' rational system of agriculture.[40] A brief description of the Witmarsum colony gives a general picture of its geographical setting, the pattern of settlement and economic organization.[41] The colony also has attracted the attention of various journalists.[42]

The Research Council of the University of Paraná is currently engaged in a study of the Campos Gerais region of the state. The Witmarsum colony is located in this region, and it was chosen as the site of the Council's first interdisciplinary project. At the time of writing (Fall, 1965) the geological and geographical work has been done, and the economic and social research is in progress. Some excellent historical material has already been published by two historians involved in the project.[43]

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[39]Leo Waibel, "European Colonization in Southern Brazil," Geographical Review, XL, 4 (October, 1950), 541.

[40]See, for example, Werner Aulich, O Paraná e os alemães: estudo caracterológico sôbre os imigrantes germânicos (Curitiba: Grupo Étnico Germânico do Paraná, 1953), pp. 47-48.

[41]Heloisa Barthelmess, "Witmarsum," Revista do Instituto Histórico, Geográfico e Etnográfico Paranaense, VIII, 1, 2, 3 (janeiro-setembro de 1963), 23-28.

[42]See, for example, Adolfo Socthe e Peter Dahlke, "Leite puro para Curitiba," Panorama, XV, 153 (fevereiro de 1965), 54-58.

A recent article describing the dairy industry near Curitiba--of which the Mennonites form an important part, is Jorge Bierrenbach de Castro, "A pecuária de leite na região de Curitiba," Estado de São Paulo, 10 de março de 1965, Suplemento Agrícola (Ano XI, No. 517), pp. 8-9.

[43]Brasil Pinheiro Machado, "Formação da estrutura agrária tradicional dos Campos Gerais," Boletim da Universidade do Paraná, Conselho de Pesquisas, Departamento de História, No. 3 (junho de 1963), pp. 4-27; and Altiva Pilatti Balhana, "Mudança na estrutura agrária dos Campos Gerais," Boletim da Universidade do Paraná, Conselho de Pesquisas, Departamento de História, No. 3 (junho de 1963), pp. 28-52.

Valuable historical materials concerning the Mennonites in Brazil during the first years are found in Die Bruecke (Witmarsum, Santa Catarina), published 1932-1937, and its short-lived successor, Die Neue Bruecke (Witmarsum, Santa Catarina), 1938. Since 1954 Bibel und Pflug (Curitiba) has been published; it includes valuable data on topics of demographic and sociological interest. The German-language weeklies of the North American Mennonites, Der Bote (Rosthern, Saskatchewan) and Die Mennonitische Rundschau (Winnipeg, Manitoba) carry occasional news articles on the Brazilian Mennonites, but these materials are usually of little aid to the scholar due to their generality and personal nature.

The present research is an attempt to begin the sociological study of the Mennonites of Brazil. Although it is limited to those who reside in Paraná, the results of the analysis of the social organization and the trends in social and cultural change probably are applicable to the German-speaking Mennonites in other parts of Brazil.

PART II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION

CHAPTER IV

THE NUMBER, DISTRIBUTION, AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

This chapter is concerned with some of the topics generally included in a demographic analysis of population.[1] Inasmuch as the size of the population being considered here is relatively small, some techniques of demographic analysis are inappropriate. Much valuable information may be gained, however, by such a study, especially that with respect to the demographic trends in the group.

Number

During the course of his research, the present writer found 2,585 persons who were considered, in one sense or another, to be Paraná Mennonites. Ninety-four of these have moved away from their home communities, or have gone to work in neighboring states, and probably will not return. Another group which is absent consists of students and unmarried persons who are studying or working in various cities in Brazil. Some of these will return to their home communities; many of them will not. The 32 such persons who were over 19 years of age were dropped from the calculations. The exclusion of these 126 persons partially explains certain discropancies between the data in the present writer's tabulations and those of a particular Mennonite organization. A case in point is that

[1] See, for example, T. Lynn Smith, Fundamentals of Population Study (Chicago: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1960), passim.

of the number of church members computed from the census data, and the official membership figures of the church records. (See Chapter IX.)

This exclusion leaves a total of 2,459 persons who may be defined as Paraná Mennonites as the term is used in this dissertation. The present writer also eliminated 47 persons (ten families) from the above total in accordance with their specific requests. Thus, except for the notation of their existence in their respective communities, these persons are not included in any of the tabulations given in this manuscript. For the purposes of the present analysis, therefore, the number of persons in the population in January, 1965, was 2,412.

Distribution

The Mennonites of Paraná are located in four communities, as indicated in Chapter I. One of these, urban in nature, is situated in a section of Curitiba known as Vila Guaíra. Another, a rurban locality group called Boqueirão, is six miles south of the city limits, but it rapidly is being engulfed by one of Curitiba's expanding, working-class, residential areas. A third Mennonite settlement, ten miles southeast of the city, is Guarituba, a small, disintegrating community, as far as the Mennonites are concerned. It is intermediate in many of its characteristics between the rurban settlement of Boqueirão and the rural colony of Witmarsum, and it is considered to be rurban. The fourth community, Witmarsum, is located about 38 miles west of Curitiba, midway between the capital and the city of Ponta Grossa.

Vila Guaíra

This community was begun in 1933 by migrants from the Mennonite colonies in Santa Catarina. At that time the area was a suburb of Curitiba, and was devoted largely to truck gardens and summer homes of German-speaking people. During the early years, the Mennonites who settled here kept dairy cows.[2] As the area was transformed into a residential section of the city, the growing number of Mennonites who lived there increasingly turned to urban occupations. As early as 1935 some of those who desired to continue their agricultural pursuits moved out of this section. That year about 14 families resided in Vila Guaíra.[3]

In 1965 there were 107 households of Mennonites in this section and 18 more were scattered about in other parts of the city. The persons in these widely scattered Mennonite households participate intensively in the social life of one or more of the three nearby, compactly settled communities. These data include seven persons (two families) who requested omission. For the purposes of the study, therefore, the population consists of 123 households with 519 persons (21.5 per cent of the Paraná Mennonites).

Boqueirão

In 1935, 18 Mennonite families bought small plots of land, usually about five hectares, on a recently subdivided fazenda (ranch) about six

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[2]See Franz Goertz, "Der Anfang in Boqueirão," in Jahrbuch der Mennoniten in Suedamerika, 1961, Henrique Ens and Gustav E. Reimer (eds.) (Curitiba: Tipografia Santa Cruz, Ltda., 1961), pp. 75-77.

[3]See Henrique H. Loewen, Jr., "Die Mennoniten in Brasilien" (term paper, Seminário Teológico Evangélico, Montevideo, Uruguay, 1957), p. 10.

miles south of Curitiba. They named their settlement Boqueirão I. In 1936 another group of Mennonites from Santa Catarina established small farms in the Xaxím area, about a mile west of the first group. The following year an additional 16 families bought land a mile southeast of the original group and took the name of Boqueirão II.[4] Since that time the three settlements have expanded and now they are practically contiguous. Their residents now consider them to be neighborhoods of the Boqueirão-Xaxím community,[5] which for brevity is shortened to Boqueirão in this study. Our enumeration showed that there were 1,150 persons (238 households) in this locality group, but 40 persons (eight households) requested exclusion, leaving a study population of 1,110 (46.0 per cent of the total).

Guarituba

This settlement was founded in 1948 by farmers from the Boqueirão community who were seeking larger properties and cheaper land. They also wished to live farther away from the rapidly expanding city, which was seen as a threat to their values and the continuance of their rural way of life. In 1950 and 1951 settlers also arrived from Paraguay and from Santa Catarina. Many of the families left the settlement in the mid-fifties, and in 1960 there were 34 families, with 174 persons, living in Guarituba.[6] People continue to leave this community. Those who wish to

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[4]See Loewen, op. cit., pp. 10-12.

[5]The residents have a humorous way of distinguishing the three neighborhoods: Boqueirão I has money, Boqueirão II has children, and Xaxím has debts. Stated by Professor Abram Dueck, Xaxím.

[6]See "Guarituba," in Ens and Reimer, op. cit., p. 127.

continue farming go to Witmarsum, and the others settle in Curitiba or in Boqueirão. In 1965 only 25 households with 128 persons remained (5.3 per cent of the study total).

Witmarsum

This colony was established in 1951 after the Mennonites in Witmarsum, Santa Catarina, decided they could not maintain a viable community there. (See Chapter II.) Most of the families moved to Paraná in 1952 or 1953, and they decided to use the same name as that of their original colony in Santa Catarina. In 1954 the move was completed and the new colony consisted of 73 families with a population of 439.[7] In 1965 there were 127 households with 655 persons (27.2 per cent of the study total).

Characteristics of the Population

The analyses in this section are based on the data secured in interviews with the heads of the 505 resident households. Mennonite students from areas outside Paraná, who temporarily are residing in Curitiba are not included, and the same is true of children of the Paraná Mennonites who are over 19 years of age, single, and not residing in their parental homes. In several instances in this section, reference is made to the Fernheim colony in Paraguay. The older inhabitants of that settlement and the original settlers who came to Brazil from Russia were part of the same refugee group. For this reason the colonists of Fernheim are an excellent comparative group. Inasmuch as they have more complete records for the early years in South America than do the Brazilian

[7] Data secured from Peter Pauls, Jr., Director, Escola Fritz Kliewer, Witmarsum, Paraná.

Mennonites, the present writer resorted to making certain comparisons on the assumption that the two groups were quite similar during their first several years in the New World.

Age and Sex Composition.

Table I presents the proportions of the population in the three broad age groups. The figures are very similar to those of the world average.[8] When the proportions are compared with those of the Mennonite population in Russia in 1897, it is apparent that there are much larger proportions of older persons among the present Mennonite population in Paraná. In 1897 the percentage of males who were 60 years of age and over was 4.8; and of females, 4.4;[9] now the corresponding proportions in Paraná are 7.5 and 8.0, respectively. The percentage of persons aged 65 and over among the Paraná Mennonites is 4.9, which is more than double that for the Brazilian population as a whole (2.4) in 1950.[10] The large proportion of elderly Mennonites appears to be due to their low level of mortality, coupled with a substantial recent decline in their birth rate. (See Chapter V.)

The residential variations of the proportions of persons in the broad age groups correspond to expected rural-urban differentials. This is especially the case for persons under fifteen, and for those aged 15

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[8] See Smith, op. cit., pp. 164-166.

[9] See Adolf Ehrt, Das Mennonitentum in Russland von seiner Einwanderung bis zur Gegenwart (Langensalza: Julius Beltz, Verlag, 1932), p. 54.

[10] Smith, op. cit., p. 165.

Table I. The Relative Importance of the Three Large Age Groups in the Four Paraná Mennonite Communities, 1965

Locality group	Per cent of the population aged		
	Under 15	15-64	65-over
Witmarsum	40.9	55.4	3.7
Guarituba	36.7	57.8	5.5
Boqueirão	39.4	54.8	5.8
Vila Guaíra	31.0	64.2	4.8
Paraná Mennonites, 1965	37.9	57.2	4.9

to 64. The present writer attributes the low proportion of elderly persons in the rural community to chance occurrence, because of the small number of persons involved.

The sex ratio for the total population (95.8) is relatively low. When the data are analyzed for the various age groups, the usual differentials are found, that is, the sex ratio drops as age increases. The expected residential differentials do not characterize the four communities. The ratios for the urban and rural communities are almost the same (96.6 and 96.1 respectively). The lack of a rural-urban difference may be due to the fact that most of the females who leave the rural and rurban communities go to São Paulo.[11] The very high sex ratio (124.6) for Guarituba is considered to be due to the small number involved. The lowest sex ratio is that of the Boqueirão community (92.4). This is due principally to the loss of males from the middle age-group (15-64 years). Part of this loss is due to movement to other areas, but much of it is due to the marriage of males to non-Mennonite spouses. Although these persons continue to live in the community, they have joined other churches and, by definition, are excluded from the study population. In general these persons are not active in Mennonite society, and do not wish to be identified with it.

Age-sex pyramids are useful for additional analysis of the age and sex composition of the population. Figure 2 presents the pyramids for the total study population, the large rurban (Boqueirão) settlement,

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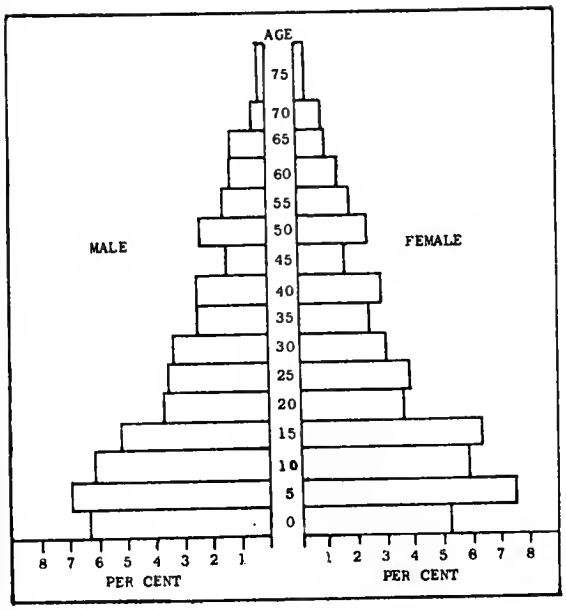
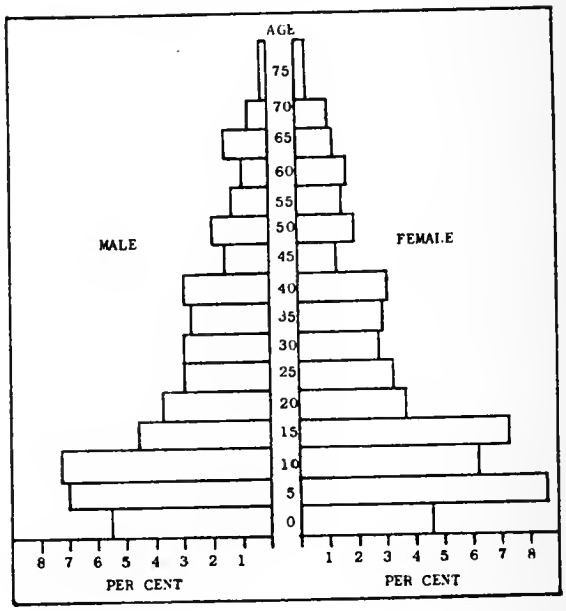
[11] In July, 1965, of 71 unmarried Mennonites who worked in São Paulo, 63 (89 per cent) were females. Data secured from Henrique Loewen, Director, Mennonite Home, São Paulo, July, 1965.

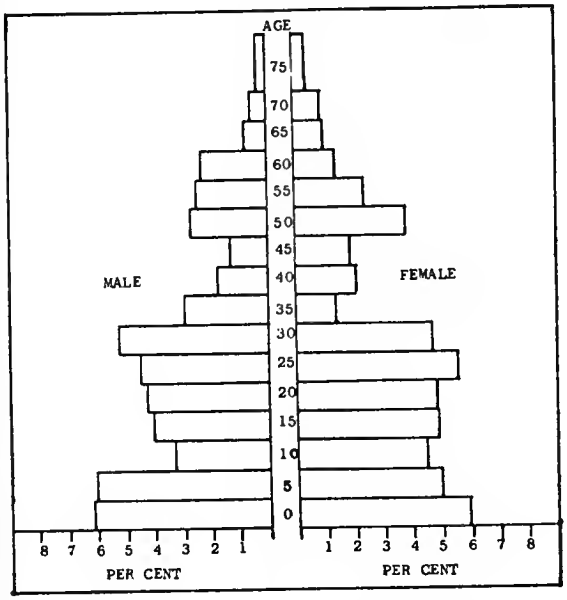
TOTAL



BOQUEIRÃO



VILA GUAÍRA



WITMARSUM

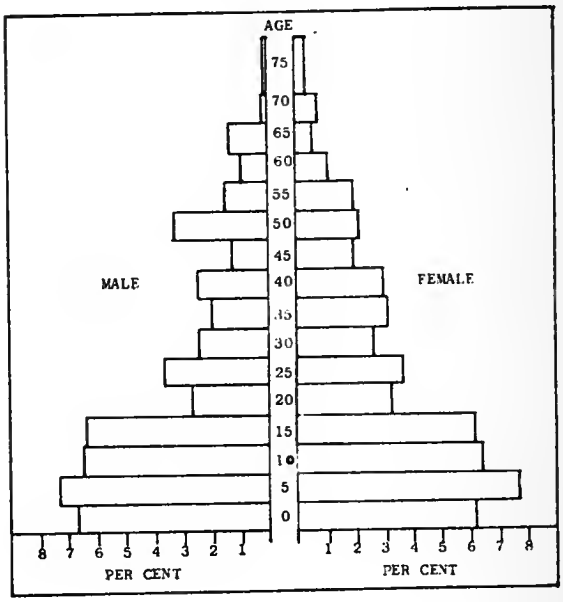


Figure 2. Age-Sex Pyramids for the Total, Boqueirão, Vila Guaíra, and Witmarsum Mennonite Populations in Paraná, Brazil, 1965.

and the urban (Vila Guaíra) and rural (Witmarsum) communities. Due to the small number of people in the two latter communities, the variations in the proportions of persons in the several age groups must be interpreted with caution. Guarituba is too small for the configuration of its age-sex pyramid to have any significance.

Two important characteristics are evident in the pyramid for the total population. The first is the scarcity of persons in the productive ages, especially those 20 to 49 years of age. An inspection of the pyramids of the three principal communities reveals that most of this effect is due to the situation in Witmarsum, and secondarily to that in Boqueirão. The second important feature is the evidence of a recent decline in the number of births, indicated by the truncated base of the pyramid. Most of this is due to the situation in Boqueirão, and only slightly to that in Witmarsum. In Vila Guaíra the number of births has increased slightly in recent years, probably due to the rise during the past decade in the number of young married couples living there.

A feature of historical interest of the pyramid for the total population is the low proportion of persons aged 45 to 49. This reflects the effects of the period of war, revolution, civil war, and famine in Russia from 1915 to 1920, when births were relatively low and deaths relatively high. A second such period (1925-1930), which was not as severe in its effects, is reflected in the group aged 35 to 39. During

this period the Mennonites fled as refugees from Russia to the New World, and again births were low and deaths high.[12]

The median age of the population is relatively low. About half of the group is under 21 years of age. The median age of the males is 20.1; that of the females is 20.7. It varies from a low of 18.0 for the males in Witmarsum to 25.8 for those of Vila Guaíra. The higher age in the urban community is due largely to the greater proportion of persons in the early productive ages, rather than to a disproportionate number of elderly persons. The low median age in Witmarsum is due to the loss of persons from the productive ages who move to non-Mennonite areas, and to a high level of fertility, rather than to a high level of mortality.

Residence

The four locality groups involved in this analysis may be classified as rural (Witmarsum), rurban (Guarituba and Boqueirão), and urban (Vila Guaíra). The rural and urban communities appear to be stable in terms of this classification, whereas the two rurban communities are changing rapidly. Guarituba is losing many of its inhabitants, and may soon cease to be a Mennonite community. Boqueirão is changing into an increasingly urbanized area because it is becoming the home of many of Curitiba's working-class families. This is forcing the young men to seek nonagricultural occupations, if they wish to remain in this area.

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[12]The effect of the difficulties of this period is clearly evident in the truncated base of the age-sex pyramid for the Fernheim population in 1932. See H. Hack, Die Kolonisation der Mennoniten im Paraguayischen Chaco (Amsterdam: Koenigliches Tropeninstitut, Abteilung fuer kulturelle und physische Anthropologie, Nr. 65 [1961]), p. 55.

Table II presents data which indicate that many of the rural-urban differences characteristic of other groups also are found in the Mennonite communities. In general Guarituba must be excluded from any meaningful comparison of residential differences because of its smallness and its atypical, disintegrating condition. The three principal communities form a rural-rurban-urban progression with its expected differences. Thus the level of educational attainment and the proportion of adults with no religious affiliation rise in the rural-urban progression, whereas the proportion of persons engaged in agriculture, and the mean number of children per family decline.

In spite of these expected rural-urban differences, the present writer noted various times in his field work that Vila Guaíra often was more similar to Witmarsum than it was like the intermediate rurban communities. This is true in terms of general attitudes, as measured by instruments administered by the present writer. (See Chapter IX.) In addition, there is a higher proportion of foreign-born stateless persons in Vila Guaíra than in Boqueirão. It seemed possible that many of the numerous deviations from expected rural-urban differences found in Boqueirão were the result of differing proportions in the four Paraná communities of persons from the more advanced colonies of South Russia. This problem is considered in the next section.

Ethnic Stock and Nativity

Various investigators have demonstrated that most of the Russian Mennonites are descendents of the Dutch Anabaptists. Their predominant

Table II. Selected Characteristics of the Populations of Four Paraná Mennonite Communities, by Residential Category, 1965

Community	Heads of households in agriculture	Mean number of children per family	Median years of formal schooling		Persons over 19 without religious affiliation
	Per cent		Males	Females	Per cent
Rural (Witmarsum)	80	4.9	6.3	6.0	22
Rurban (Guarituba)	48	5.9	5.0	5.0	28
Rurban (Boqueirão)	38	4.6	6.9	6.1	24
Urban (Vila Guaíra)	--	3.8	7.3	6.2	33

physical characteristics and family names, and their dialect used in daily discourse, all point to such an origin.[13] The acquisition of a German culture in Prussia, and its maintenance in Russia, never erased completely their Dutch ethnic origins. The two-fold nature of their ethnocultural frame of reference has been preserved by their insistence on a bilingual solution to the problem. Their traditional dialect is used in the home and in informal conversation; High German is the language of church, school, and formal discourse. One investigator, in speaking of this, noted that "most people think of the Mennonites as ethnically German, however, they are ethnically Dutch and culturally German."[14]

Approximately a third (34.5 per cent) of the Mennonites in Paraná are foreign-born. This proportion, of course, is dropping with each passing year due to the lack of continued immigration. More than three-fourths of the foreign-born came from Russia, 13.6 per cent from Paraguay, and less than 5 per cent from Germany. (See Table III.) Those born in Poland are from the Mennonite community of Wymysle. They came to Brazil in the 1950's after a residence of more than 20 years in Paraguay. The rest of the foreign-born are from a variety of countries in which their parents usually were temporary residents, except for the missionary families from Canada.

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[13] See Johan Sjouke Postma, Das niederlaendische Erbe der preussisch-russlaendischen Mennoniten in Europa, Asien, und Amerika (Leeuwarden: Drukkerij A. Jongbloed, 1959), pp. 105-106. About 90 per cent of the family names of the Russian Mennonites are of Low German origin; see Ehrt, op. cit., p. 5.

[14] Joseph Winfield Fretz, Immigrant Group Settlements in Paraguay (North Newton, Kansas: By the author, 1962), p. 112.

Table III. Percentages of the Immigrant Population, Born in Stated Countries, for Four Paraná Mennonite Communities, 1965

Country of origin	Total population	Witmarsum	Guarituba	Boqueirão	Vila Guaíra
Russia	77.0	72.0	77	80.6	74.5
Paraguay	13.6	14.5	18	12.4	14.3
Germany	4.2	3.0	5	4.3	5.1
Poland	1.3	5.0	--	0.3	--
Uruguay	1.1	2.0	--	0.7	1.0
China	0.8	0.5	--	0.5	2.0
Canada[a]	1.8	3.0	--	0.7	3.1
Others[b]	0.2	--	--	0.5	--
Totals	100.0	100.0	100	100.0	100.0
Numbers	(832)	(200)	(39)	(397)	(196)

[a]Consists of missionary families residing in Paraná.
[b]One person from Holland, and one from the United States.

The citizenship classification of the refugee, foreign-born population merits attention because it may be assumed that those persons who remain stateless will tend to be the less progressive of the foreign-born group. The refugees who fled from Russia in the period from 1929 to 1932 lost their citizenship. Those who came to Brazil received temporary travel documents from the German government and, after their arrival, were considered stateless by the Brazilian authorities. The present writer expected that in the two oldest Mennonite communities in Paraná (Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão) there would be lower proportions of stateless persons than in the ones established more recently, and such is the case. (See Table IV.) The fact that the rurban community (Boqueirão) has a much lower proportion than the urban one (Vila Guaíra) suggests that a factor other than residence is involved.

If residence were the most important factor in explaining these differences, the persons in the urban community might be expected to be at least as likely to become naturalized as those in the rurban one. Both of these communities are near enough to governmental offices to eliminate any problems of communication or transportation. It is to be expected, of course, that those persons who remained in Santa Catarina for more than 20 years would tend to remain stateless to a much greater degree than the early migrants to Paraná. Even the late-comers, however, have been living near Curitiba for more than a decade, and the present writer concludes that the lack of naturalization on the part of stateless persons is not caused by inability to contact the proper governmental officials.

Table IV. Percentages of the Refugee, Foreign-Born Having Stated Citizenship Status, in Four Paraná Mennonite Communities, 1965

Citizenship status	Total population	Witmarsum	Guarituba	Boqueirão	Vila Guaíra
Stateless	60.7	76.8	77	51.4	60.7
Naturalized:					
Brazilians	20.8	8.4	17	24.2	27.3
Germans	13.2	10.3	3	18.2	7.3
Paraguayans	5.3	4.5	3	6.2	4.7
Totals	100.0	100.0	100	100.0	100.0
Numbers[a]	(658)	(155)	(30)	(323)	(150)

[a]The difference in the totals in this table and those in Table III is because the latter includes the foreign-born with natal citizenship.

Table IV indicates that a relatively large number of persons in Boqueirão are naturalized Germans. This naturalization process was facilitated by a Mennonite who lives in that community and is employed by the German consulate in Curitiba. There is no reason, however, why persons in Vila Guaíra, or in the other communities, could not have sought German citizenship through the same man, had they so desired. The question thus remains as to why the refugee, foreign-born population in Boqueirão has been the most progressive in becoming naturalized.

The regional background of the Russian-born population offers the most significant clue to the solution of the above problem. On several occasions the present writer received the suggestion from Mennonite leaders that the differences in the several communities may be traced to the differing proportions of persons from the southern colonies in Russia. The oldest and most highly developed of the Mennonite colonies were all located in southern Russia; whereas those in Siberia were less developed, less progressive, and usually quite simple in their social, cultural, and economic organization. In general the colonies in middle Russia (near Orenburg) were intermediate in their characteristics, as compared with those in the first two regions. The Siberian colonies were established at the turn of the century, and those in the Amur region as late as the 1920's. Consequently their inhabitants were accustomed to life in pioneer conditions, which usually involved much cooperative, group-oriented activities. In addition, the Siberian colonists were usually poorer, had less formal schooling, and were more conservative than their southern brethren. In short, they were the less-favored class of the

Mennonite population in Russia, and had a reputation for being satisfied with a lower level of living than that of the colonists in middle and southern Russia.

In the light of these suggestions the present writer hypothesized that the communities in Paraná with the larger proportions of persons from northern Russia would be the ones with the larger proportions of the stateless. The data in Table V show the regions in which the Russian-born immigrants spent most of their time in their country of birth. More than 70 persons who were born in southern Russia grew up and were married in Siberia; they are included in the northern population.

A comparison of the rank order of the four communities in terms of the proportions of stateless persons and that of persons from northern Russia, reveals a perfect rank-order correlation. (Due to rounding of the Guarituba data in Table IV, this community erroneously appears to rank highest.) As the proportion of individuals from northern Russia declines, so does that of the stateless. The rank order of the communities is: Witmarsum, Guarituba, Vila Guaíra, and Boqueirão. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the regional background of the refugee, foreign-born population is related in a significant manner to the tendency to seek naturalized status. This tendency, in turn, appears to be related to other factors such as a willingness to adapt more completely to the refugee's adopted country.

The varying proportions of persons from southern Russia in the four communities also appears to be the answer to the question as to

Table V. Percentages of the Russian-Born Population Having Stated Regional Backgrounds, for Four Paraná Mennonite Communities, 1965

Russian regional background	Total group	Witmarsum	Guarituba	Boqueirão	Vila Guaíra
North[a]	38.0	55.6	53	24.7	46.6
Middle[b]	13.9	23.6	27	13.4	2.7
South[c]	48.1	20.8	20	61.9	50.7
Totals	100.0	100.0	100	100.0	100.0
Numbers	(640)	(144)	(30)	(320)	(146)

[a]Consists of persons from younger, less-developed, pioneer colonies.
[b]Consists of persons from colonies intermediate in age and level of development.
[c]Consists of persons from older, most highly developed colonies.

what type of person was more likely to abandon the colonies in Santa Catarina during the 1930's. Almost half of the Russian-born population in Paraná lived in the colonies in southern Russia. The two oldest communities have more than their share of such persons, especially Boqueirão, whereas Witmarsum and Guarituba have very low proportions. (See Table V.) The relationship of a high proportion of persons from southern Russia in the older communities and a low percentage in the younger ones is highly significant from the statistical standpoint.[15] These data strongly support the hypothesis that the Mennonites from southern Russia were much more prone to leave Santa Catarina and move to Curitiba than were those from elsewhere in Russia.

This tendency for people to leave the struggling colonies in an isolated, primitive area in Santa Catarina for an area with better possibilities should not be difficult to understand. The Mennonite colonies in southern Russia were models of economic development. Their school systems, medical and social services, and technological achievements were the most advanced of all the colonies in Russia. In the 1900's their inhabitants knew nothing of the pioneer conditions and privations endured by the first colonists in that region. Many persons were involved in nonagricultural occupations and some had experience as independent businessmen. They had more formal education, and more experience with an affluent way of life than did their brethren from the other regions of Russia. As a result of their life in the colonies with the highest

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[15] Chi-square = 70.548, $p < .001$; $Q = .686$.

level of living, their expectations probably were higher than those of the colonists from the less-developed communities. It is probable, therefore, that the colonists from southern Russia were more frustrated with the primitive conditions in Santa Catarina than were those from middle and northern Russia.

Although the refugees from the younger, less-developed colonies were hardly happy with the situation in Santa Catarina, their way of life in Russia was not as different from that in Brazil as was that of the southern colonists. They were more accustomed to pioneer conditions, had less experience with private enterprise, and probably were less confident of their ability to succeed as individuals in a non-Mennonite environment. In general they were dedicated more profoundly to the belief that Mennonite communities should maintain a geographical separation from the world.

It appears, therefore, that the numerous differences in past experience, and in present expectations, which resulted from the great regional variations in the colonies in Russia, provide the sociocultural explanation for the fact that a disproportionate number of persons from southern Russia left the colonies in Santa Catarina during the 1930's. They moved in spite of great social pressure against such "desertions," and in full knowledge of the fact that such a migration out of the young colonies was a serious threat to their ultimate success.

It is clear that the differences discussed here, arising from a social and cultural nature, are not those of innate ability or intelligence. The differences are the result of socialization in colonies

of varying levels of economic, social, and cultural development. There are numerous persons from northern Russia who live in Vila Guaíra, and some of them are successful businessmen. The notable progress which has been made in the young Witmarsum colony is evidence that the characteristics involved are not fixed, unchanging ones. The differences discussed here, which are related to conditions in the various colonies in Russia, appear to explain why persons from southern Russia were much more willing to change from the group-dominated way of life to a less-organized, individual one which was established by the early settlers in Paraná.

Marital Condition

An unusually large proportion of the Paraná Mennonites contract formal marriage. In general only those males who are unqualified physically or mentally for marriage remain single throughout life. The two main reasons for the presence of single females in the adult population are: (1) the low sex ratio, which means that there are not enough males to permit a spouse for each eligible female; and (2) the fact that most of the marriages with non-Mennonites involve Mennonite males.

Figure 3 demonstrates graphically the sex differential referred to above, and also indicates the disproportionate rise in the widowed population for females. Only after age 70 is there a noteworthy increase in the proportion of widowers; in most cases a man remarries within a year of the death of his spouse. The opportunities for

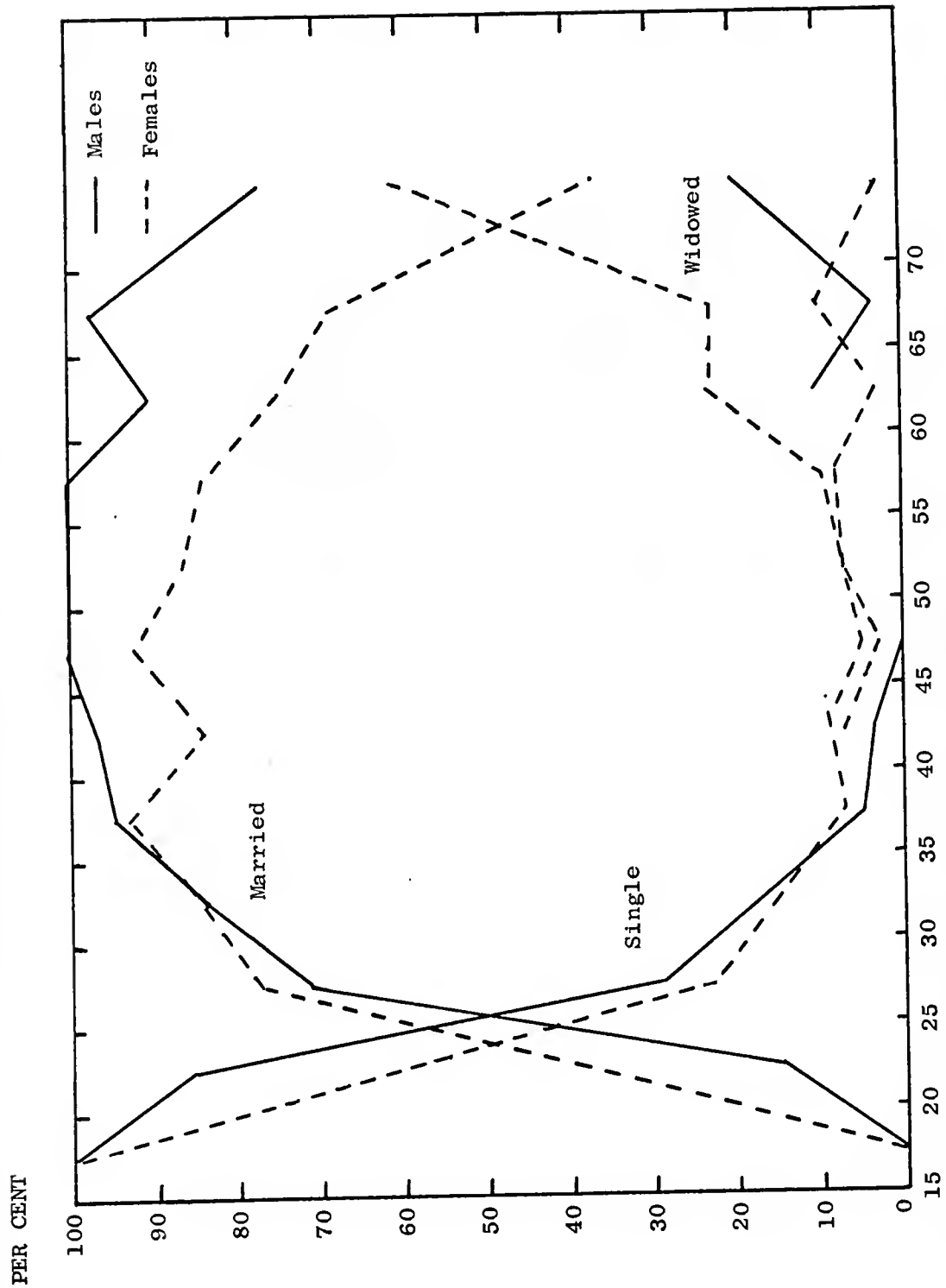

Figure 3. The Relationship of Age to Marital Status in the Mennonite Population of Paraná, Brazil, 1965.

remarriages of widows decrease rapidly as age increases, for demographic and also for esthetic reasons. Due to the small number of cases involved in the five-year age groups, no significance is attached to the variations of the single or widowed categories in the upper age levels.

In comparison with the Brazilian population, or even the population of the United States, Mennonite males and females are more likely to contract formal marriage.[16] The exclusion from the study population of unmarried persons over 19 who do not reside in their parental homes causes the percentage of single persons to drop more rapidly than otherwise would be the case, but since most of these persons are under 30 years of age, this would not affect the percentages in the older age levels.

There are no divorced persons in the population, and the present writer found only one legally separated (desquitada) female. Two males were involved in consensual unions, but these persons are considered marginal Mennonites both by themselves and by others. It can safely be said that marriage among the Mennonites of Paraná continues to display its traditional stability.

The median age at first marriage is of interest to the present writer in terms of any observable change which may have occurred in the population during the past several decades. Table VI presents the median ages at first marriage for both sexes. The males marry from two to three years later than the females. It appears that the age at first marriage

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[16] See the data in Smith, Fundamentals, p. 215; and T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (3rd ed.; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), pp. 469-471.

Table VI. Median Age at First Marriage of Paraná Mennonites, by Sex, Selected Ages, and Community, 1965

Group	Male	Female
Total population	24.4	21.9
Persons aged 50 and over	25.0	22.7
Persons aged 30 to 49	24.4	22.0
Witmarsum	24.5	21.3
Guarituba	22.5	21.1
Boqueirão	23.4	22.0
Vila Guaíra	24.3	21.7

of this population is much lower than that of the Brazilian population in general. This index was computed in 1963 for a sample of members of the so-called Old Mennonite Church in North America; it was 23.6 years for males and 22.0 for females.[17] In comparison with their northern co-religionists, the Paraná males are almost a year older, whereas the females are slightly younger.

A slight trend toward a younger age at marriage appears to characterize the Mennonites in Paraná. The median age of persons 50 years and over is somewhat higher for both males and females than is that of persons aged 30 to 49. A similar situation was found in the Mennonite population in North America, and of course it is true generally of the people in the United States.[18] Scattergrams of age at first marriage by five-year age groups reveal two opposite tendencies. First, in recent decades a greater proportion of males have been getting married at a younger age, usually in the lower twenties; also, from 1940 to 1960 many females, especially those in Boqueirão, were married before 20 years of age. As a result, the median age at marriage for both sexes declined during the past several decades. Second, the opposite tendency is that during the last five years there is a significant decline in the marriage of teen-age girls. Of all married persons (936), 11.7 per cent were

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[17] See Melvin Gingerich, "The Mennonite Family Census of 1963" (paper read before the meeting of the Religious Research Association, Chicago, Ill., June, 1965), Section 2, pp. 6-8. (Mimeographed.) Although this sample is not composed of Russian Mennonites, it is noteworthy that the two groups are very similar in many of their characteristics.

[18] Ibid.

married before 20 years of age; and 90 per cent of these are females. In 1965, however, there was only one married person among the 278 people aged 15 to 19. This fact is evidence of a significant shift away from "teen-age marriage" among the Mennonites in Paraná. Both of the above-mentioned factors have tended to reduce the age range at first marriage, and the index being considered here probably will remain stable in the near future.

Occupational Status

An analysis of the occupational distribution of the Paraná Mennonites indicates clearly the shift from a rural to an urban way of life by a great part of the group. In the 1930's most of the male labor force was engaged in agriculture; in 1965, 41 per cent remained in that industry. Table VII presents the percentage distribution of the male labor force by occupation and community. The percentage of persons in agriculture ranges from a high of 85 in Witmarsum to 36 in Boqueirão. Most males who are in nonagricultural occupations are engaged in the skilled and semiskilled trades and crafts. Very few Mennonites are involved in sales and service, or unskilled labor. It is noteworthy that they seldom work as paid farm laborers.

Most persons classified as professionals are teachers, although a medical doctor, a lawyer, and several dentists are included. Those classified as semiskilled operatives generally are truck or taxi drivers and milk deliverymen. Most of them are under 40 years of age. Many of

Table VII. Percentages of Employed Paraná Mennonite Males Aged 14 and Over, by Occupation and Community, 1965

Occupation	Total group[a]	Witmarsum	Guarituba	Boqueirão	Vila Guaíra
Farmers	33.0	63.0	30	32.2	--
Farm laborers, family workers	8.1	20.5	17	3.5	--
Paid farm laborers	0.3	0.6	--	0.4	--
Craftsmen, skilled	14.7	3.0	11	15.6	27.8
Operatives, semi-skilled	13.3	1.8	17	15.2	22.2
Laborers, unskilled	7.0	4.8	14	8.2	5.6
Sales and service	2.6	--	3	1.9	6.9
Professional and technical	7.0	3.6	--	7.0	12.5
Managers and proprietors	8.5	--	5	7.8	20.1
Clerical and kindred workers	5.5	2.4	3	8.2	4.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100	100.0	100.0
Numbers	(603)	(166)	(36)	(257)	(144)

[a]The labor force of 603 persons comprises 82.7 per cent of the 729 males aged 14 years and over. Of this total population, the percentages who are not in the labor force are: students, 13.4; retired, 3.4; and not classified, 0.5.

the managers and proprietors are involved in woodworking industries or machine shops.[19]

The shift to nonagricultural occupations is most notable in the Boqueirão settlement. Of a total of 83 farmers in this community, only four are under 30 years of age (less than 5 per cent); whereas 59 per cent of the semiskilled operatives are less than 30 years old. This rapid shift to nonagricultural occupations is due in part to a lack of interest in farming by many of the younger men, and to the paucity of available land in the area which is needed for pasture. Very few families move to another area in order to farm.

The female labor force consists principally of unmarried or widowed persons. Approximately 12 per cent of the 794 females aged 14 years and over are gainfully employed. The 97 women in this group are classified as follows: agriculture (widows who manage their own farms), 7 per cent; semiskilled operatives (largely seamstresses), 16 per cent; factory laborers, 8 per cent; sales and service, 2 per cent; and about 22 per cent in each of the following: professionals (teachers and nurses); clerical; and private household workers (maids and governesses). Nursing appears to be the most desirable and prestigious occupation for Mennonite females. There are many more nurses than the above data indicate, inasmuch as those who are married cease to practice, and many of those who are unmarried have gone to work in São Paulo.

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[19] In June, 1965, the present writer counted 40 business establishments in the area of Curitiba which were owned by Mennonites. They included 18 wood-related industries (principally plywood or furniture factories), seven machine shops and garages, four stores, and eleven miscellaneous businesses.

Most of the females (697 or 87.8 per cent of those aged 14 and over) are not in the labor force. Homemakers or unmarried children who work at home number 566. Students, who total 106, comprise the same percentage (13.4) of this group as do their male counterparts. The remainder, or 3 per cent of the total, are elderly persons who may be considered to be retired.

A second occupation is relatively frequent among the male heads of households interviewed by the present writer. Almost 40 per cent claimed to have a second occupation. Unfortunately the wording of the question did not distinguish clearly those persons who are gainfully employed on a regular basis from those who may work little or not at all in their second occupation. Some of these persons are ministers. Technically, they are not gainfully employed because they receive no remuneration for their services, although they dedicate a great amount of time to this work. It is the present writer's impression that perhaps half of all those who claim to have a second occupation may be considered as gainfully employed. If this is correct, the proportion is still relatively high. In 1963 24 per cent of male Mennonite heads of households in North America had second occupations.[20]

Of the 94 male heads of households who were interviewed, seven had wives who worked at least ten hours a week outside the home. Only two worked as much as half-time (24 hours). Inasmuch as these women's

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[20]Gingerich, op. cit., p. 13.

main occupation is that of homemaker, their outside work may be considered a second occupation. More than half of them reside in Vila Guaíra.

A comparison of the occupational distribution of the Mennonites in Paraná with those in North America reveals numerous similarities. In both groups there is a rapid shift from farming into the skilled and semiskilled occupations. The proportions of females engaged in sales and service, and business and managerial occupations also are very similar.[21]

Trends in occupational choices by the younger males seem to be clear. The majority is entering the skilled and semiskilled crafts and trades, and avoiding agriculture. If the students who are currently enrolled in the universities remain in the Paraná communities after graduation, there will be an increase in the proportion of persons engaged in the professions. Females continue to work in the occupations traditionally chosen by unmarried Mennonite women (private household work, and nursing). There has been an increase in the proportions of clerical workers, due to the proximity of urban centers, but there is no indication that professional careers are competing with homemaking as the preferred status of most young women. Neither is there any indication of an acceptance of the idea that women may continue to practice their profession after marriage, except in an emergency.

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[21] Gingerich, op. cit., p. 12. The data for North American Mennonites include only male heads of households, but the differences would be very few even if unmarried males were included, since the great majority of gainfully employed Mennonites are heads of households.

Educational Status

The level of educational attainment of the Mennonite population reflects the fact that the group has been a rural one, and that primary school generally has been considered sufficient academic training. Although the group is not characterized by a high level of educational attainment, it is noteworthy that illiteracy practically is nonexistent.[22]

The median years of schooling for the population over 14 years of age is 6.6 for males and 6.0 for females. Table VIII presents the data for the four communities. It appears that many persons aged 30 to 54 had little opportunity to acquire even a primary-school education. The unsettled conditions in Russia from 1914 to 1925 hindered school attendance of children of that period. The lowest levels of schooling for both sexes are found in the group aged 35 to 39. This is due to the closing of the Mennonite schools in the colonies in Santa Catarina during the late 1930's and early 1940's. The nationalization program of the Brazilian government prohibited the use of the German language, which made it impossible for the Mennonite teachers to conduct the schools. The young Brazilian teachers who were sent to the colonies were often ill-prepared, and frequently did not remain for the entire term. As a result, many children of school age during that period received as little as two years of training.[23]

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[22]The same may be said of the Mennonites in Russia, even among the pioneer colonies. See P.M. Friesen, Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruederschaft in Russland (1789-1910) im Rahmen der mennonitischen Gesamtgeschichte (Halbstadt, Ukraine: Verlagsgesellschaft Raduga, 1911), p. 640.

[23]Numerous respondents told the present writer that the little schooling which they did receive at that time was practically useless. Many were taught to read at home, or in informal classes.

Table VIII. Level of Educational Attainment of Paraná Mennonites Aged 15 and Over, by Sex, Residence, and Age, 1965

Group	Median years of school completed	
	Males	Females
Total population	6.60	6.00
Community		
Witmarsum	6.26	5.97
Guarituba	5.06	4.95
Boqueirão	6.85	6.06
Vila Guaíra	7.26	6.20
Age groups		
15-19	7.11	6.61
20-24	7.60	7.17
25-29	6.56	5.83
30-34	5.43	5.72
35-39	4.94	4.66
40-44	6.21	5.57
45-49	5.30	5.14
50-54	5.91	5.71
55-59	7.68	6.37
60-64	6.80	6.32
65 and over	7.08	5.54

The age differential in the median years of schooling is caused, therefore, by historical circumstances. It is noteworthy that the level has risen for persons in the two youngest age groups. This trend probably will continue as an increasing number of youth attend institutions of secondary and college or university level. The index for the group aged 20 to 24 would be even higher if the students of that age who are not residing at home had been included in the calculations. The higher level of educational attainment for persons 55 years of age and over reflects the general situation in the colonies in Russia where boys usually attended school for six or seven years, and girls for four or five.[24]

Residential differences in the amount of schooling, as expected, indicate less schooling in the nonurban communities that in the urban one. The lowest level is that of the small Guarituba settlement, followed by Witmarsum, Boqueirão, and Vila Guaíra, in that order (see Table VIII for the exact data). The level varies from about five to seven years in the four communities. The index being considered here is an excellent indicator of the general quality of the population in each of the four communities. Their rank order in terms of the level of schooling is the same as that which any observer would give them when asked to rank them in terms of general level of living.

The sex differential persists in all the residence and age categories. The males consistently have a slightly higher level of educational

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[24]See Peter Braun, "The Educational System of the Mennonite Colonies in South Russia," Mennonite Quarterly Review, III, 3 (July, 1929), 169-182, esp. p. 178.

attainment, with the exception of those aged 30-34. It is noteworthy, however, that the difference is never large. Most of the persons who have more than 12 years of formal schooling are males, which tends to raise the median for this sex. For both sexes the mode is four years of schooling; and over three-fourths (75.5 per cent) attended school less than eight years.

Mennonites in Brazil have less formal schooling than those in North America. For the latter the median in 1963 was 8.9 for heads of households; for housewives it was 9.2.[25] Those in North America rank below the general populations of Canada and the United States but they display similar sex differentials.

The Paraná population only partially conforms to the traditional Russian Mennonite pattern, in which males generally acquired an additional year or two of schooling beyond that considered necessary for females. In Brazil the difference has been narrowed.

The trend toward higher levels of educational attainment may be expected to continue. The implications of this fact are numerous; but in terms of the present writer's interest in social and cultural change, the most important one involves the age groups which are presently in the middle of the distribution. During the next several decades the better-educated, older generation will pass off the scene, and will be replaced by the group whose level of formal schooling is relatively low. This will take place at a time when the younger age groups

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[25]Gingerich, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

increasingly are acquiring more education in Brazilian schools. The result probably will be a broadening gap in perspectives, interests, and values between the older and younger groups. It would appear that such a situation will increase the cleavage which already exists between young and old, and may induce greater conflict between them. The probability of accelerated change in such a situation also appears greater. As more young people have contact with the better-educated elements of Brazilian society, they may be expected to develop increasingly favorable attitudes toward Brazilians in general.

Summary

A demographic analysis of the characteristics of the Mennonites in Paraná indicates that many changes have taken place in the population. During the 35 years in which the Mennonites have lived in Brazil, there has been a trend in the population toward lower proportions of children, and higher percentages of the elderly. The two older communities have significantly lower proportions of persons from the colonies in middle and northern Russia. It was demonstrated that a disproportional number of persons from the more advanced colonies of southern Russia were among the first to leave the young, struggling colonies in Santa Catarina during the 1930's; and reasons for this tendency were suggested.

The median age at first marriage has declined during the past several decades. An analysis, however, revealed two opposite tendencies: (1) more people are marrying in the lower rather than the upper twenties; and (2) teen-age marriages, once contracted by more than 10 per cent of the married population, have disappeared almost completely in recent years.

The population, which was completely rural 35 years ago, is increasingly urban in residence and occupation. Most of the employed males who are in nonagricultural occupations are concentrated in the skilled and semiskilled categories. Whereas about 83 per cent of the male population aged 14 and over is gainfully employed, about 88 per cent of the female population is not in the labor force.

The median level of educational attainment varies by age groups. The older members of the population received an average of six to seven years of formal schooling in Russia; those who grew up in Santa Catarina, as little as four to five years. The level has risen sharply in the groups under 30 years of age, and it appears that it will continue to rise in the future.

CHAPTER V

VITAL PROCESSES, MIGRATION, AND GROWTH OF THE POPULATION

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the factors which affect the growth of the population, and to note their results. Specifically, this chapter seeks to indicate what has been the net result of fertility, mortality, and migration of the Mennonite population on its present size and rate of growth.

Vital Processes

The two vital processes which affect the rate of growth of population are fertility and mortality. They are considered in that order in this analysis.

Fertility

The Russian Mennonites have been known as a group with consistently high fertility levels. During most of their history families with seven to eight members have been average. During the past several decades, however, there has been a notable drop in the level of fertility of the group in both North and South America.

The crude birth rate of the Mennonites has declined precipitously during the 35 years they have resided in Brazil. From 1930 to 1936 it was approximately 46.[1] During a similar period (1931-1938) the sister

[1] Peter Klassen, "The Mennonites of Brazil," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XI, 2 (April, 1937), 116.

group of refugees, who established the Fernheim colony in the Paraguayan Chaco, had a crude birth rate of 48.2.[2] In 1964 the birth rate of the Mennonites in Paraná had dropped into the low 20's, and in the large rurban community of Boqueirão it was 17.1. By way of comparison, the rate in the Fernheim colony had dropped to 33.8 during the period 1948 to 1956.[3]

The residential differences in Paraná are unexpected. (See Table IX.) That is, the relatively high birth rate in the urban community and the low one in the rurban settlement are not in accordance with the usual rural-urban differences. The high incidence of births in Vila Guaíra probably is due to a noteworthy increase in the number of young families in this community. The unusually low incidence of births in Boqueirão has persisted for several years and appears to indicate a trend toward smaller families. Probably it is an indication of a conscious attempt on the part of many parents to limit the size of their families.

The fertility ratio is a more standardized measure than the birth rate. A comparison of the four Paraná communities in terms of this ratio indicates that the rural community, as expected, has the highest level of fertility.[4] Boqueirão, however, ranks below Vila Guaíra. The low

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[2] H. Hack, Die Kolonisation der Mennoniten im Paraguayischen Chaco (Amsterdam: Koenigliches Tropeninstitut, Abteilung fuer kulturelle und physische Anthropologie, Nr. 65 [1961]), p. 178.

[3] Ibid.

[4] The fertility ratio was computed by means of the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{Children under 5}}{\text{Females aged 15 to 44}} \times 100$$

for the rationale on which this formula is based, see T. Lynn Smith, Fundamentals of Population Study (Chicago: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1960), pp. 277-278.

Table IX. Indexes of Fertility of Paraná Mennonites, by Community, 1964

Community	Crude birth rate	Fertility ratio[a]
Witmarsum	24	56.4
Guarituba	23	54.8
Boqueirão	17	44.3
Vila Guaíra	31	48.5
Total population	23	49.1

[a]The fertility ratio was computed by means of the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{Children under five}}{\text{Females aged 15 to 44}} \times 100$$

number of children under five years in Boqueirão, when compared with that in the other communities, is highly significant from the statistical standpoint.[5] Although many factors may be involved in this situation, the most important single one appears to be the presence of a highly respected nurse in the community. This woman was born and trained in the United States, and numerous women have sought information from her about birth control. Evidently some couples have decided to limit the size of their families; and the presence of a respected member of the in-group in the community, who is both technically competent and a female, probably has facilitated the impressive drop in the level of fertility. This change in attitude concerning family planning is found in the other communities, but to a lesser degree, if the present writer's conversations with some of the younger couples are representative.[6] Thus, the low fertility ratio not only is statistically significant, but it has great social significance as well.

A comparison of the fertility ratio of the Mennonites in Paraná (49.1) with that of the Brazilian population in 1950 (70.5) indicates that the index is much lower in the former group.[7] The population of

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[5] Chi-square = 11.529, $p < .001$; $Q = .217$.

[6] The traditional view on conscious control of family size was expressed to the present writer by one of the middle-aged mothers in Witmarsum in the following words: "We do not try to keep children from being born into the world. We accept each one as a gift from God." Interview, December, 1964.

[7] The ratio for the Brazilian population is calculated according to the same formula as that used for the Mennonite population. The ratios in Paraná in 1950, computed by using women aged 15 to 49 in the denominator, are: total population, 72.9; Curitiba, 39.4; and the rest of the state, 77.1. All data for Brazil and Paraná compiled from J.V.D. Saunders, Differential Fertility in Brazil (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958), pp. 10, 32, and 64.

Fernheim, Paraguay, had a fertility ratio of 69.5 in 1957.[8] Of great importance is the fact that a definite decline in the level of fertility has taken place in the Mennonite population in Paraná. It is one of the clearest indications of an important change in values concerning large families. Conversations with some of the young parents convinced the present writer that there is an approval of, and a desire for, smaller families by the younger couples. Although the birth rate has declined to about half of that which prevailed in the early 1930's, it appears that the incidence of births will drop even lower as younger couples adopt techniques of birth control.[9]

The level of fertility in Russia was very high. In spite of very high infant mortality rates, a third of the population was under ten years of age, and the average annual rate of population growth was 2.8 per cent.[10] Another indication of this situation is the fact that for the period 1880 to 1922 the mean number of children per family was 6.2 in Chortitza, the oldest Mennonite colony in Russia.[11] In most of the

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[8]Hack, op. cit., p. 180. This was calculated by using women 15 to 49 years of age in the denominator. When this formula is used for the Paraná Mennonite data, the ratio is 47.6; and that for Brazil (1950) is 65.3. See Saunders, op. cit., p. 64.

[9]An indication of this new attitude is the following: a young woman about 23 years of age, after discovering that the present writer has three children, remarked, "Oh, how wonderful! I come from a large family, but small ones are much better. In small families the children will get a better education, and have a better life."

[10]See Adolf Ehrt, Das Mennonitentum in Russland von seiner Einwanderung bis zur Gegenwart (Langensalza: Julius Beltz Verlag, 1932), pp. 52-55.

[11]See Karl Stumpp, Bericht ueber das Gebiet Chortitza im Generalbezirk Dnjepropetrowsk (Berlin: Publikationsstelle Ost, 1943), p. 9.

colonies in Paraguay and Mexico this average has declined to about five; and in Paraná it is 4.6.[12] The high fertility level which was maintained in Russia for more than a century has been termed a "religiously influenced fertility rate."[13] In Brazil the Biblical injunction to be fruitful has been reinterpreted in terms of current norms. This is a response which is characteristic of many groups caught up in the process of urbanization.

Mortality

The level of mortality of the Mennonites in Paraná is impressively low. In 1964 there were eleven deaths in a population of 2,412, which yields a crude death rate of five. This rate is similar to that which prevailed during the first three years of residence in Santa Catarina, when an average of five deaths per year took place in a mean population of approximately 1,200.[14] During 1964 only one infant death was reported.

A search of the official records of the Boqueirão Municipal Cemetery revealed that during the ten-year period, 1955 to 1964, 61 Mennonites were buried there, or a mean of 6.1 per year. Most of the deceased members of the Boqueirão and Vila Guaíra communities were buried in this cemetery during this period. A comparison of the mean number of deaths during the past ten years in the four communities indicates that the mortality data for 1964 are typical of those of the past decade.

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[12]The mean number of children per family in various colonies in Mexico and Paraguay varies between 5.3 and 5.6; see J. Winfield Fretz, "Birth Rate, Mennonite," The Mennonite Encyclopedia, Harold S. Bender et al. (eds.) (4 vols.; Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955-1959), I, 345-347.

[13]Ehrt, op. cit., p. 15.

[14]On the basis of such an approximate figure, the crude death rate

Migration

Mennonites have a reputation for being predisposed to an urge to migrate. Their history, as noted in Chapter II, involves frequent population movements. In fact, Mennonites occasionally refer to themselves as a migratory people (Wandervolk). The migration of the population involved will be considered in terms of international and internal movements.

International Migration

The presence of German-speaking Mennonites in Brazil is a result of the migration of approximately 260 families from Russia to Santa Catarina in the period 1930 to 1934. Most of the families arrived in 1930; about 20 came via Harbin, China, in 1934, after spending several years as refugees in that city. No other important international movement of Mennonites into Brazil took place until the late 1940's and the early 1950's, when about 40 families from Paraguay joined the newly established locality groups of Witmarsum and Guarituba in Paraná, and Clevelândia in Santa Catarina.[15]

From 1960 to 1964 an additional ten families arrived from Paraguay, and eight more came from other countries, principally missionary families from Canada. This immigration to Paraná totaled at least 335 persons.[16]

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for 1930-1933 was 4.2, see Peter Klassen, "Ein Brief aus der Neusiedlung in Brasilien," Mennonitische Blaetter, LXXX, 7-8 (Juli-August, 1933), 79-80.

[15]This last community did not succeed as a settlement, and in 1965 only 21 persons remained, of whom four were missionaries engaged in evangelistic work among their Brazilian neighbors.

[16]These data refer to those families who resided in Paraná in 1965. Since 1950 at least 120 persons from Paraguay have resided temporarily in the state before moving to other places, principally Canada.

It is impossible to determine exactly how many have emigrated from Brazil, because no records have been kept on the subject. The present writer made a concerted effort to ascertain the approximate extent of this movement by securing lists of emigrants from several persons who are interested in this topic, or had access to partial records. Table X indicates that the great majority of the migrants went to Canada, the country to which most of the persons who came to Brazil in the 1930's once had hoped to go. It is noteworthy that the movement to Canada is gaining momentum in recent years. The unsettled political and economic conditions in Brazil have been an important factor in the increased emigration.

The purpose of Table X is twofold: (1) to indicate the trends in international migration; and (2) to demonstrate the approximate net effect of such migration on the growth of the population. It should be recalled that the present writer secured data for only about two-thirds of the Mennonites in Brazil; therefore an exact determination of the extent of international migration is not possible. If similar ratios prevail in the entire group, it is probable that the net effect of international migration has been very slight on the total Mennonite population in Brazil.

The table clearly demonstrates that most of the persons who have entered Brazil since the original migration of the early 1930's have come from Paraguay. The destination of almost three-fourths of the emigrants has been Canada. Whether the trend toward an increasing volume of emigration to North America will continue remains to be seen. There are indications that it may become even greater.

Table X. Résumé of the International Migration of Paraná Mennonites, 1935-1964.

	Immigration: country of origin			Emigration: country of destination			
	Paraguay	Others	Total	Total	Canada	Germany	Others
1935-39			--	46		46	
1940-44			--	--			
1945-49	21		21	29	29		
1950-54	185		185	24	24		
1955-59	38	8[a]	46	82	82		
1960-64	51	32[b]	83	148	105	13	30[c]
Totals	295	40	335	329	240	59	30

[a] Three from Argentina and five from Canada.

[b] Three from Argentina, 15 from Canada, 13 from Uruguay, and one from the United States.

[c] Twenty to Paraguay, seven to the United States, and three to Uruguay.

Sources: Compiled from data secured from the following persons: Heinrich Neufeld and Liza Loewen, Vila Guaíra; Jakob Kassdorf, Boqueirão; Heinrich Janzen, Guarituba; and Peter Pauls, Jr., Witmarsum, Paraná. The data are based only partially on written records, and must be considered minimal.

Internal Migration

Although international movements are more spectacular, internal migration is usually more important as a determinant of the distribution of the population. Most of the colonies in which Mennonites located in Russia were the result of internal movements, and the consequent establishment of daughter colonies. By 1910 a total of 36 such colonies were begun by members of the four mother colonies in Russia.[17]

The 505 households in Paraná have been involved in a total of 366 moves in Brazil. Most of these transfers have been from one Mennonite community to another. Only eleven of the 366 involved residence in a non-Mennonite area. There are families, of course, who permanently have left a Mennonite community. Their number is less than 40, according to information secured from various respondents.[18]

The most important movements of population in Paraná are two in number: (1) the early migration from the colonies in Santa Catarina to Curitiba and Boqueirão (1935-1944); and (2) the arrival of the remaining colonists from Santa Catarina in the new Witmarsum colony (1951-1954). If the original move into Paraná is not counted, only 89 interstate transfers were made from 1935 to 1964. Most of these involved families who spent several years in Colônia Nova, the Mennonite colony located near Bagé, Rio Grande do Sul. During this same time period 94 changes were made within Paraná. These data indicate the unusual residential stability of the Mennonite population in this state.

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[17] J. Winfield Fretz, Mennonite Colonization: Lessons from the Past for the Future (Akron, Pa.: Mennonite Central Committee, 1944), p. 7.

[18] There are 45 families residing in the city of São Paulo, but a "Mennonite Home" is located there in which weekly church services are held. Some of these families, however, have abandoned all meaningful contact with Mennonites.

During the 1960's there has been a noteworthy increase in the number of families who have come to the Paraná communities from Colônia Nova. From 1960 to 1964 a total of 34 families from there have settled in Paraná, principally in Boqueirão. Many of the families have made this change in order to enable their children to attend the secondary school, or the Bible School, located in this community. Others are retired persons who prefer the comforts, conveniences, and services available in Curitiba to the rigors of rural life in the Bagé area.

Rural-urban migration in the state plays a relatively minor role because Curitiba is not the usual destination of persons in the productive ages who seek the higher wages associated with work in the larger cities. Such persons--especially those who are unmarried--usually go to São Paulo.[19] The excellent educational facilities in Curitiba, however, keep most of the students within the state. There also are Mennonite youth from Rio Grande do Sul, and the colonies in Paraguay, who attend the universities, and the Mennonite Brethren Theological Institute located in Curitiba.

Growth of the Population

An attempt to determine the growth of the Mennonite population in Paraná is inappropriate because no accurate count ever was made prior to the present writer's research. Also, an indeterminate number of persons have moved out of the state, principally to Rio Grande do Sul. Inasmuch as data exist for the original population in Santa Catarina, and

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[19] Curitiba can not compete with São Paulo, in terms of wages. A Mennonite secretary, who is trilingual, more than doubled her salary by leaving her excellent job in Curitiba, and accepting employment in the paulista capital.

relatively accurate estimates of the total number in Brazil are available, it is more appropriate to estimate the growth of the total Mennonite population in Brazil for the period from 1930 to 1965.

The original population in 1930 was approximately 1,100. A relatively accurate estimate of growth may be calculated on the basis of this figure for 1930 and the estimate for January, 1965, which is approximately 3,700; the number has more than tripled in the 35-year period, and the annual rate of growth is 3.5 per cent. Although the exact figure should be interpreted with caution, it is evident that the rate has been well above 3 per cent.

A comparison of the rate of growth in Brazil with that in the Menno and Fernheim colonies in the Paraguayan Chaco indicates that the growth in Brazil is not unusual for Mennonites in South America. From 1931 to 1950 Menno had an annual net increase of 4.3 per cent. This is the most conservative of all the Mennonite colonies in South America, and the high level of fertility compares with that of Hutterite communities.[20] During the same period, Fernheim had an annual net increase of 3.6 per cent, or about the same rate which has prevailed in Brazil.[21]

The growth rate in Russia was very high for the 19th century, but it did not attain the levels characteristic of South American Mennonites. Although the birth rate was even higher there than in the New World, the high levels of mortality curbed the rate of growth. In Russia the

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[20] Hack, op. cit., p. 180.

[21] See Fretz, "Birth Rate."

population doubled about every 25 years, on the average, and the annual rate has been calculated at 2.8 per cent.[22]

The higher rate of growth in Brazil suggests that Mennonite families may find the economic burden to be greater than was the case in Russia. Although the incidence of births is much lower, greater proportions of children now survive, so that the mean number of children is not as low as the drop in the birth rate might suggest. Over half of the families in Paraná no longer live on farms, and those who do generally have much smaller ones than they had in Russia. In Brazil the need for higher levels of schooling requires a greater expenditure of money for education. These factors combine to make children's labor less needed at home, and their maintenance and training more expensive than was the case in Russia. In light of these changes and demands, it is understandable that most of the younger persons do not agree with the statement that "large families are preferable to small ones." It appears probable that the level of fertility will drop even lower in the future. This may result in a decline in the rate of growth of the population during the coming decade.

Summary

The data presented in this chapter indicate that the level of fertility of the Mennonite population has dropped significantly from the 1930's to the 1960's. It is considerably lower than that of a group with a similar background in Fernheim, Paraguay. Inasmuch as the population involved is now principally urban and rurban, such a

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[22] Ehrt, op. cit., p. 52.

decline is to be expected. It is noteworthy, however, that the greatest drop in fertility level, indicated both by the crude birth rate and the fertility ratio, has taken place in the rurban community. The influence of a respected nurse in this settlement appears to have facilitated the acceptance of family planning.

The rate of growth in Brazil has been even higher than that in Russia, and is similar to that in Paraguay. In spite of much lower fertility levels, the great drop in the mortality rate has made possible an increased rate of growth. The significant decline in the fertility ratio in the rurban community probably is the harbinger of a trend that may be expected to occur in the other locality groups. The churches have not taken an official position on birth control, and consequently family limitation is a matter of concern and decision for the individual couple. The present writer found a general opposition to family planning among the older parents; but many younger couples, especially those in the urban and rurban communities, appear to have accepted it as both necessary and proper.

An increasing number of Mennonite families are engaged in non-agricultural occupations. As their standard of living continues to rise, there is increasing pressure and tension between needs and wants and available resources. This probably will encourage greater numbers of spouses to seek a solution through the adoption of techniques to control the size of their families. These facts suggest that a further drop may be expected in the level of fertility, and a decline in the rate of growth also is likely.

PART III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER VI

THE INSTITUTIONALIZED RELATIONSHIPS OF MAN TO THE LAND

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the five important relationships of the rural population to the land. These are: (1) form of settlement; (2) land division; (3) land tenure; (4) size of holdings; and (5) system of agriculture.[1] This analysis demonstrates that much change in these institutions has taken place among the Mennonites since their arrival in Brazil.

Form of Settlement

The most distinguishing characteristic of the various forms of settlement utilized by Mennonites has been their tendency to place the houses very near to each other. In Russia they lived in nucleated agricultural villages and in many instances farmed the surrounding areas according to an open-field system. This pattern has been traced to their ancestors' marsh villages in the Vistula River Delta near Danzig, and even to the Dutch villages of the Middle Ages.[2] The form of the Russian Mennonite village was systematized by Johann Cornies, the well-known agricultural and administrative genius, who even stipulated the exact location of the village school, mill, and Russian cowherd's dwelling.[3] The homesteads

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[1] See T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life (3rd ed.; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), pp. 197-362.

[2] See E.K. Francis, "Mennonite Institutions in Early Manitoba: A Study of their Origins," Agricultural History, XXII, 3 (July, 1948), 144-155.

[3] See Cornelius Krahn, "Villages," The Mennonite Encyclopedia,

bordered the broad, main street which bisected the village, and each plot included only enough land for buildings, gardens, and orchards. Each family's residence was close to that of another. Such a system, of course, greatly enhanced the development and maintenance of social cohesion. A similar pattern of settlement was established by members of this group who migrated to Canada, Mexico, and Paraguay.[4]

In Santa Catarina such a pattern was not established due to the mountainous terrain in which the refugees located. Therefore the colonists adopted the line village which permitted them to keep their homes as close as possible to those of their neighbors. The open-field system was not used because each farmer lived on his own land, which extended back from the river to the mountain ridge.

The two rurban communities in Paraná were established on land which had been subdivided by commercial, real estate companies. The plots are quite small, but a modified type of line village is the usual arrangement. The plots are two or three times as long as they are wide, and the houses are very close to each other. This is the general situation in Boqueirão I and II. The Xaxím neighborhood and the Guarituba settlement are typical line villages. The homes are located along the road, and the farms extend back at right angles from the thoroughfare.

Harold S. Bender et al. (eds.) (4 vols.; Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955-1959), IV, 821-827.

[4]See H. Hack, Die Kolonisation der Mennoniten im Paraguayischen Chaco (Amsterdam: Koenigliches Tropeninstitut, Abteilung fuer kulturelle und physische Anthropologie, Nr. 65 [1961]), pp. 62-64.

The Witmarsum colony consists of four line villages, and a small nonagricultural center which includes the school and the business establishments of the colony.[5] The line villages are designated by numbers (Village One, Two, Three, and Four), and are located about three to five miles apart. During the first years of the colony, some of the land was managed communally by the members of each settlement. Each owner lived on a long, narrow plot of about 24 acres which he himself farmed, but the remainder of this land (about 100 acres) was part of the colony subdivision in which his village was located. Most of this land was used as communal pasture during the 1950's. This arrangement is reminiscent of the system used in Russia before 1870.[6] Presently the colonists do not participate in a communal program, because the village lands have been divided into individual plots.

In spite of their local variations, the settlement patterns in all three nonurban communities in Paraná continue to make possible the rich social life of the traditional Russian Mennonite village.[7] The exclusive

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[5]As noted in Chapter II these locality groups function as neighborhoods. The term village is preferred in this chapter because form, rather than the nature of the locality group, is the main concern.

[6]See David G. Rempel, "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia: A Study of their Settlements and Economic Development from 1789 to 1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Stanford University, 1933), pp. 103-109.

[7]One elderly gentleman expressed the function of such a settlement pattern as follows: "We Mennonites like to live close to each other. It makes it easier to be neighborly, and easier to quarrel; and judging by our past, we enjoy both!"

nature of the Mennonite community is changing rapidly because all the communities except Witmarsum are being infiltrated by non-Mennonites. Even in Witmarsum this system of social organization is being modified since the partition of the communal lands. (See the following section.) At present there is no evidence of a trend toward the scattered-farmstead pattern; in the past few years, however, most of the farmers have enclosed their properties, and some say they may move out of the villages in the future.

Francis demonstrated that among the Mennonites in Manitoba the breakdown of the "field community" led to the disintegration of the community organizations, and, in some instances, of the village itself.[8] In Brazil a similar process appears to be taking place, as far as the community organizations based on mutual aid are concerned. Smith observes that the settlement pattern "is a conditioning factor which vitally affects all other aspects of social organization and the social processes . . . ."[9] The Mennonites are an excellent illustration of this principle. The tightly knit village pattern in colonies which were isolated from the world was an important factor in the development of the Mennonites in Russia into an ethnic group. It fostered an intensive interaction with other members of the in-group, and reduced to a minimum contacts with outsiders. This encouraged the establishment of group values and forms of social and economic behavior, and the development of numerous organizations based on mutual aid and cooperation. Their solidary type of social

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[8] E.K. Francis, In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 63-64 and 97-109.

[9] Smith, op. cit., p. 200.

organization was fostered by, and in turn strengthened, their form of settlement.

Land Division

The Mennonites in Brazil are subject to the difficulties of the indeterminate system of land division which is characteristic of that country.[10] They have been fortunate, however, in avoiding the problems of clouded titles. The settlements are located in tracts of land which were sold by reputable agents, and the present writer is not aware of any Mennonite who has had subsequent difficulties in getting a satisfactory deed.

The Witmarsum colony is divided into five large sections. As noted earlier, line villages were established on four of the subdivisions; the fifth one is still uninhabited. The boundaries of the colony are described in the title in terms of natural features (metes and bounds), and within the colony the plots have been demarcated partially in terms of the roads and streams.[11] The tracts are elongated rectangles, sometimes as much as ten times as long as they are wide. In Witmarsum the land division is a combination of the river-front system and its dry-land equivalent, the road-front type.

Land Titles

In the original colonies in Santa Catarina, each land owner received an individual title to his property. A similar situation

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[10] See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (3rd ed.; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), pp. 258-260.

[11] This system is very common in southern Brazil in the areas settled by farmers who own and operate family-sized units. See Smith, Brazil, pp. 276-282.

characterized the two rurban settlements in Paraná. There was growing dissatisfaction with this arrangement in the colonies, however, because the persons who moved to Paraná sold their farms to whoever would buy them. This action permitted the entrance of numerous persons into the locality who had no interest in participating in the community-wide organizations. In 1950 about half the Mennonite families in Witmarsum, Santa Catarina (the colony in the Krauel Valley), moved to Rio Grande do Sul. Such a mass exodus and its consequent influx of outsiders forced the remainder of the colonists to seek a new area in which they might establish a closed Mennonite community.

As a result of their unhappy experiences with individual land titles, which made it easy for a dissatisfied minority to jeopardize the cohesive nature of the entire group, the colonists decided that the land in Paraná would be held in condominium with the Cooperative serving as the legal owner. It was hoped that in this manner a closed Mennonite community in Paraná might be maintained. It also was decided that each farmer must purchase at least 50 hectares (123.5 acres), but not more than 100. According to the colony's leaders, this was done to avoid the development of both very small and very large holdings. Exceptions were made for widowed or handicapped persons.

Each landowner received a one-acre plot in the "urban center" of the colony, as well as a 24-acre plot in the line village in which he built his home. Both of these were clearly delineated on the colony map. The rest of his property was considered part of the communal lands of the subdivision in which he lived. He received no legal title to his land even after payment of the full purchase price. This arrangement, of

course, was a gentlemen's agreement, and depended upon the cooperation of all the colony members for its successful implementation. With about 80 per cent of his land held in common with the rest of his neighbors, it is obvious that the farmer was an active participant in the village organization which managed the communal lands. Such a system encouraged the type of cooperative activity which was common in the younger Mennonite colonies in middle and northern Russia, from which a majority of the farmers came. In fact the entire system was similar to that used by the Mennonites in Russia during the 19th century, when in the colonies established on land received from the Crown the title was held by the entire colony. Families received the plots in perpetual usufruct, but they could not sell the land to a non-Mennonite.[12]

Social Effects of the Witmarsum Land Titles Arrangement

Such an arrangement worked well in Russia, where the civil autonomy of the colony made it possible to require everyone to accept it, and where the relative isolation of the group made private ownership of little or no advantage. In Paraná, however, it soon became apparent that such a system involved many problems. A farmer could not borrow money from a bank, even if he owned his land, because he had no legal title to it. All such transactions had to be made by the officers of the Cooperative.

Many of the more enterprising members of the colony became dissatisfied with the situation, and a few began to agitate for a return to the system of individual titles. The majority of the colonists,

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[12] See Rempel, op. cit., pp. 103-112.

however, opposed this lest the unhappy history of their colony in Santa Catarina be repeated. This difference of opinion precipitated a serious internal conflict within the group that lasted for six years and caused a great amount of bitterness. Mennonites from other areas took sides in the dispute, and it was related to religious and personal animosities within the colony. In 1959 a compromise was reached, and now each farmer has an individual title. It includes a clause which gives the Cooperative the right to buy a farmer's land for the same price offered by a third party, if the officers believe that such a sale would jeopardize the future well-being of the colony.[13]

After the decision was made to grant individual titles, the entire colony was divided into separate plots. The village assembly in each subdivision was responsible for an equitable allocation of good and poor lands to each landowner. This process also caused a great amount of misunderstanding and conflict. In one subdivision four years passed before a final agreement was reached. During the past several years the social effects of this decision include the following: (1) the role of the village assembly has been reduced greatly, because there are now very few problems which require its attention; (2) there is less cooperative work with neighbors; (3) the daily activities of the farmer are oriented more to his own family and less to the needs or interests of his neighbors; (4) the traditional political organization is disappearing; and (5) the Cooperative has assumed responsibility for the community services which are still provided.

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[13]This option applies only to the first sale, so that the original desire of the majority of the colonists to keep the land within the group is safeguarded only partially.

About 20 per cent of the members of the colony withdrew from the Cooperative since March, 1964. This suggests that the last community in Brazil which is attempting to maintain the traditional social organization of the Russian Mennonites is changing rapidly. Even Witmarsum is characterized by the shift from an authoritarian, group-oriented way of life to a democratic, individual-oriented one--a process which already is well advanced in the other three locality groups.

Land Tenure

The Mennonite farmers in Paraná, as their brethren in most parts of the world, are owner-operators. About 94 per cent of the heads of households who are engaged in agriculture are in this category, and the remainder are cash renters.[14] Only two persons of a total of 250 males aged 14 and over in the farm population are classified as paid farm laborers. This unusually high proportion of owner-operators is a reflection of the value which Mennonites place on ownership of the land. Most of the cash renters are young men who will buy farms within two or three years after marriage. A man who continues to rent throughout his life is considered an anomaly.

About 10 per cent of the owner-operators in Witmarsum rent additional land. In general the amount is less than 25 acres. In Boqueirão, 26 per cent rent five to ten acres. (No such data were gathered in Guarituba.) In all the above instances the rent is paid in cash.

In Witmarsum 19 per cent of the farmers hire some help; but only one-fourth of this group hires more than one person, and almost all of the

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[14] These data are based on a complete enumeration in Witmarsum, a 20 per cent sample in Boqueirão, and a 33 per cent sample in Guarituba.

wage hands are non-Mennonites. Thus it is clear that the majority of the farmers operate family-sized farms on which the work is performed by the members of the family.

The above data suggest that the traditional values related to farming as a way of life continue to guide that part of the Mennonite population in Paraná which remains in agriculture. To own the land he works, and to cultivate it with the help of his own family, is the proper way of farming for the typical Mennonite agriculturalist. Only a small minority of farmers display any interest in an agricultural enterprise which requires more labor than that of the family members.

In Russia the desire to own land was so widespread that Mennonite businessmen sought to become landowners as soon as possible.[15] No such trend is found among the businessmen in Curitiba at the present time. In conversations with numerous persons in Vila Guaíra, the present writer observed little nostalgia for farming, although some of the older ones commented on the undesirable effects of the loss of independent status upon individuals who have become wage earners.[16]

Size of Holdings

Smith has demonstrated that "the size of agricultural holdings, the concentration of landownership, or the distribution of landownership

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[15] See P.M. Friesen, Die Alt-Mennonitische Bruederschaft in Russland (1789-1910) im Rahmen der mennonitischen Gesamtgeschichte (Halbstadt, Ukraine: Verlagsgesellschaft Raduga, 1911), p. 696.

[16] One man told the present writer, "Our young men are willing to trade their independence for the comforts of city life, even if they have to take orders from others, and live on a weekly pay check. We Mennonites in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão are like bees in a sugar sack; if we stay here it will kill us, but it's too sweet to leave." Interview, March 27, 1965.

and control is the most important single determinant of the welfare of the people on the land."[17] The family-sized farm, cultivated by owner-operators, has been a characteristic of rural groups with high standards and levels of living. The contrast between the rural population on plantations and that on family-sized farms in Brazil is ample evidence of the truth of the above statement.

The size of the holdings in the colonies in Santa Catarina varied between 25 and 100 acres.[18] Most of this land once was heavily wooded, and at first the average colonist attempted to clear only seven to nine acres.[19] Through this experience the Mennonite farmer evidently adjusted to the idea of owning and operating a very small farm. The fact that these people were poor refugees probably was the most important reason for the purchase of small properties, even after their arrival in Paraná.

In Russia a full-sized farm in the Mennonite colonies originally was one of 175 acres. By 1864 half-size farms were approved, and finally quarter-size farms were permitted.[20] The latter, of course, were owned principally by the poorest group of Mennonites. Some persons acquired large estates in areas outside the colonies. In Brazil some of the members believed that smaller farms would enable the entire group to be more faithful to the Mennonite ideal of brotherhood. This was one of

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[17] Smith, Brazil, p. 318; see also, Smith, Rural Life, pp. 313-318.

[18] See Abraham E. Janzen, Glimpses of South America (Hillsboro, Kansas: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1944), p. 120.

[19] See J. Schellenberg, "Aus unserm Siedlerleben in Brasiliens Urwald," Mennonitische Blaetter, LXXVIII, 9 (September, 1931), 74-75.

[20] See Rempel, op. cit., pp. 23, 190, and 195.

the reasons for limiting the original purchase of land in Witmarsum, Paraná, to two plots of 123.5 acres (50 hectares) each.

The median size of the agricultural properties in each of the three nonurban Mennonite communities in Paraná is as follows: Guarituba, six acres; Boqueirão, eight; and Witmarsum, 125 acres. Inasmuch as the farmers in all three communities are engaged in dairying, the above data indicate that the two rurban groups have farms that may be termed minifundia. This situation has become critical in recent years in Boqueirão as the open grass lands which surround the community have been converted into residential areas. Increasing pressure from the municipal government will soon require the farmers to keep their cows in fenced pastures. Such an ordinance has been passed on two different occasions and the reason it has not been enforced is that the representatives of the milk producers have been able to convince the authorities that it would force the farmers out of business, and deprive Curitiba of a large part of its milk supply. It appears that agriculture in Boqueirão will be curtailed drastically within the next decade.

Fragmentation of the holdings is no problem in the two rurban settlements. Most of the properties consist of one plot. In Witmarsum, however, only 27 per cent of the farms are unfragmented. Over half of them (53 per cent) consist of two parts. This is due to the division of the communal land of each section of the colony after 1959. As a result of the decision to give each farmer an individual title, the communal lands were surveyed and each village assembly decided on who would get the several plots. As a result of this process, 20 per cent of the farms consist of three to six separate plots, most of which are larger than 20 acres.

It is not probable that further fragmentation will take place, because of the traditional practice of selling the entire property to one heir of the family.[21] In Russia, due to the use of the open-field system, family farms frequently were broken into numerous parts, in order to divide good and poor lands among all the inhabitants of the agricultural village.[22]

The above description of the size of the agricultural holdings demonstrates that the Mennonite farmers in Paraná operate family-sized farms. Even in Witmarsum, which is located on treeless campo, the farms are relatively small. The group has been able to prosper on such small properties because of the utilization of a relatively advanced system of agriculture.

System of Agriculture

The phrase "system of agriculture" is used here to include the integrated beliefs, ideas, knowledge, cultural traits and complexes, practical and technical skills, and the implements and tools which a people possess and employ to extract a living from the soil.[23] In Russia the Mennonites developed the most advanced system practiced by the farmers of that nation. During the latter part of the 19th century their model farms, with the latest equipment and advanced techniques of cattle and crop production, brought them a world-wide reputation of being progressive farmers.[24] They became skilled in plant and animal breeding,

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[21] See ibid., pp. 111-112.

[22] Rempel says that some full-size farms were divided into seven or more parts, op. cit., p. 222.

[23] See Smith, Brazil, pp. 357-360.

[24] See Rempel, op. cit., chapters XI and XII.

crop rotation and fertilization, and invented and produced farm machinery in Russia during the period 1860 to 1914.[25] They used the four-wheeled wagon, the horse collar, and the steel turning plow, and early adopted mowing machines, binders, threshing machines, and other mechanized equipment.

The basic orientation of the Mennonites with respect to farming is that of the peasant. Farming is viewed as a way of life, not merely as an economic enterprise. The land is considered to be one of God's gifts, and should be well treated and improved. Hard work and frugality are important virtues, and satisfaction in farming is derived more from the improvement of animals and land, rather than from profit or conspicuous consumption.[26] In southern Russia, during the period from 1870 to 1914, there was a progressive loss of the peasant perspective, but it remained strong in the colonies in the middle and northern areas of the country.

The System of Agriculture in Santa Catarina

Whether they came from the advanced colonies of southern Russia, or from the less-developed ones in the north, all the Mennonite refugees in Santa Catarina were reduced temporarily to the level of Brazilian caboclos. They began life in Witmarsum and Auhagen in thatch-roofed huts, and were forced to clear their land by the system of derrubadas e queimadas. After felling the trees and burning the dried vegetation, they planted

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[25] Ibid., chapters XI, XII, and XIII.

[26] See, for example, E.K. Francis, "The Adjustment of a Peasant Group to a Capitalistic Economy: The Manitoba Mennonites," Rural Sociology, XVII, 3 (September, 1954), 219-220.

their crops among the charred stumps and trunks, and cultivated them with the hoe.[27] Due to circumstances beyond their control, the Mennonites in Brazil were forced to abandon the advanced plow system of agriculture, and adopt a combination of fire and hoe agriculture.[28]

After a few years, however, the colonists cultivated the cleared portions of their farms with horse-drawn plows and simple cultivators, as well as with hoes. The principal cash crop in Witmarsum, Santa Catarina, was manioc, which was processed into starch in the community-owned starch factory. Dairying was soon begun, and the cream was shipped to the nearest town (Presidente Getúlio) for processing.[29] In spite of the adverse geographical conditions, the colonists who remained in the Krauel Valley for 20 years made a great amount of economic progress. The valley was cleared of trees, and visitors commented on the neat, well-kept appearance of the homes and farms. Many families built brick homes, and the community was able to construct a large church and a small hospital. They abandoned their colony because of sociocultural considerations, and not because of economic necessity. In spite of their relatively simple tools and techniques, the ideological aspect of their system of agriculture--which emphasized hard work, frugality, careful management, and cooperative

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[27]For a description of the "fire agriculture" practiced by the colonists during the first years in Santa Catarina, see J. Schellenberg, "Aus unserm Siedlerleben in Brasiliens Urwald, II," Mennonitische Blaetter, LXXIX, 7 (Juli, 1932), 58-59.

[28]For a description of the various systems of agriculture, as delineated by Smith, see Brazil, pp. 360-390.

[29]See Janzen, op. cit., pp. 117-123.

effort--soon enabled the group to abandon the notoriously inefficient methods of the Brazilian caboclo and to gain an adequate livelihood.

The System of Agriculture in Paraná

All the Mennonites in Paraná who are actively engaged in agriculture are dairy farmers.[30] In Boqueirão and Guarituba they have developed a highly specialized type of enterprise. The small farm is used to grow fodder for the cows. Sugar cane, oats, and azevém (Lolium perenne, L.) are fed during the winter. In the spring, corn is used as the fodder, and after it is cut, a grass called papuã (Bracharia plantaginea, Link.) is allowed to grow up. The corn, oats, and azevém are planted in narrow strips, in amounts sufficient for a month's supply. In addition to the above home-grown feeds, ground corn, wheat bran, and concentrated dairy rations must be bought.[31] This intensive use of the small farm plot is practiced, with minor variations, by all the farmers in the two rurban communities. During the day the cows are allowed to pasture on the open lands of the surrounding area. In Guarituba there is still much land that is unfenced, whereas in Boqueirão, as noted before, the situation has become critical.

By utilizing their small properties to grow fodder, and by turning their cows loose during the day, the farmers have been able to maintain

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[30]For the purposes of this section a farm is a nonurban property whose occupants derive the major part of their income from the sale of agricultural products, and have at least three cows. A farmer is the head of a household who lives on such a property.

[31]These data were secured from Hans Wiens, May 22, 1965.

an enterprise which supports their families in an adequate manner. In Boqueirão the median size of the farms is about eight acres, and the median number of cows per farm is 16.7. In Guaritubа the median size is about six acres, with 21 cows per farm. An indication of the adequacy of the livelihood gained in this enterprise is the relatively high percentage of farms with automobiles and trucks. (See Table XI.) The acquisition of motor vehicles by persons who till the soil is a much greater accomplishment in Brazil than it is in the United States.[32]

In Witmarsum the colonists attempted to establish a program of diversified crops. At present the major ones are corn, buckwheat, and rice, in that order. It soon became apparent to the colonists that dairy farming would be their most profitable enterprise, and the number of cows and acres of improved pasture, have increased steadily from 1954 to 1964.[33] The milk is processed in the cooperative creamery, and the products (butter, cheese, cream, and cottage cheese) are sold in Curitiba. Since June, 1965, a pasteurization unit has been in operation, and the cooperative now sells fresh bottled milk.

The dairy enterprise in Witmarsum is not as highly specialized as in the other two Mennonite settlements, nor have the colonists acquired as many cows. The median number of cows per farm is 12.2; but it appears

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[32] It is interesting to note that in 1950 there were 2.5 motor trucks and runabouts per 100 farms in Paraná. See Smith, Brazil, p. 388. In 1965 there were 19.8 per 100 farms among the Mennonites; the number of automobiles (30.7 per 100 farms) is even higher. (See Table XI.)

[33] The number of cows has risen from 507 in 1954 to 1,269 in 1964; the amount of improved pasture from 95.5 to 1,330.6 acres. Data secured from Peter Pauls, Jr., Director, Escola Fritz Kliewer, Witmarsum, Paraná.

Table XI. Percentages of Farms with Selected Implements and Vehicles in Three Paraná Mennonite Communities, 1965

Item	Total	Witmarsum	Boqueirão	Guarituba
Plow	100.0	100	100	100
Harrow	95.3	100	91	83
Wagon[a]	96.9	100	100	50
Milking machine	18.2	18	21	--
Tractor	19.8	34	4	--
Truck	19.8	8	29	67
Automobile	30.7	30	36	8
Total farms	(192)	(104)	(76)	(12)

[a]The Mennonites use the term wagon both for four- and two-wheeled vehicles. In Witmarsum almost all are four-wheeled. In Boqueirão and Guarituba the great majority are two-wheeled, rubber-tired carts. The percentages are those of persons who had a Wagen at the time of the census.

that the additional income which the farmers now receive, as a result of the sale of fresh milk, will serve as an incentive for them to increase their herds. This will require the development of more improved pasture, which has proved to be a difficult task on the relatively poor soil of the campos.

Table XI presents data which demonstrate that the Mennonite farmers in Paraná have a system of agriculture which Smith has called "advanced plow culture."[34] Almost all use the horse and the steel turning plow. The present writer found only six farmers of a total of 192 (3.1 per cent) without a horse. The exceptions involved an individual with a tractor or persons who shared a horse with a neighbor. Mechanized farming is in an initial stage of development in Witmarsum but one-third of the farmers have tractors. Due to the small size of the farms in the two rurban settlements, mechanization is not practical in most cases. In recent years in Witmarsum, the amount of farm machinery has been increasing steadily, and it is probable that the trend will continue.[35]

Part-time farming is relatively unimportant in the Mennonite, non-urban population. About 12 per cent of the heads of households with nonagricultural occupations engage in some sort of part-time agriculture. Most of such persons, however, keep only a cow and a few chickens. In Witmarsum nine heads of households, of a total of 18 employed in non-agricultural occupations, continue to farm as a secondary occupation;

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[34]See Smith, Brazil, pp. 376-378, and Rural Life, pp. 344-347.

[35]In 1964 the 104 farmers in Witmarsum possessed 23 planters, 19 milking machines, 15 manure spreaders, and five combines. Data secured from Peter Pauls, Jr., Director, Escola Fritz Kliewer, Witmarsum, Paraná.

that is, they have at least three cows and sell agricultural products. These persons are teachers, employees of the cooperative, and skilled craftsmen (carpenters and mechanics). The fact that many such persons continue to engage in agriculture probably is a reflection of the prevailing opinion in the colony that farming is the preferred way of life for Mennonites.

In the two rurban settlements, especially Boqueirão, the reported part-time farming usually is an avocation of persons who enjoy gardening, and wish to have chores for their children. It is not an important source of income for the family, and there is no reason to assume that it will become important in these two communities. In Witmarsum, however, it probably will continue among many of the persons who are employed in the school, cooperative, and shops of the colony.

Summary

The Mennonite farm population in Paraná lives in line villages and on relatively small properties. The families who live in the two rurban settlements (46 per cent of the farm families) have farms with a median size of less than 10 acres. The principal enterprise is that of milk production; in fact, all persons actively engaged in agriculture are dairymen. About 95 per cent of the farmers are owner-operators, and most of them perform their work without hired help. About 85 per cent of the farmers maintain an operation which is exclusively a family enterprise. Most of the others have only one hired man, and almost invariably he is a non-Mennonite.

The group utilizes the horse, perfected hitching equipment, and the steel turning plow, as well as the four-wheeled wagon. Its system of agriculture is that which has been termed advanced plow culture. The ideological orientation of the system is that of the peasant; that is, farming is viewed as a way of life, and satisfaction is derived from the improvement of the land, and of the animals and crops grown on it. The Mennonites' rational systems of farm management, such as the use of fertilizer, crop rotation, and improved types of plants and animals stand in sharp contrast with the type of agriculture practiced by their Brazilian neighbors.

This group is one more example of the validity of the hypothesis that the system of agriculture is one of the most important determinants of the level of living in a rural population. Even though the majority use simple tools, and little or no complex farm machinery, they enjoy a level of living unknown to the average Brazilian who tills the soil. They live in well-built homes, acquire at least a primary-school education, and are a healthy, well-fed, and well-clothed group of persons.

It is worthy of note that many of these persons who work barefooted in their fields and stables are able to purchase motor vehicles. Almost a third of the farm households own automobiles, and a fifth have trucks. It would appear that the relationships of the people to the land, as discussed in this chapter, are the determinants of the high level of living of this group of small farmers who were penniless refugees 35 years ago. The present writer concludes that the Mennonites in Paraná are an

excellent example of the validity of Smith's analysis concerning the relationship of the system of agriculture to levels and standards of living.[36]

The data presented in this chapter indicate that much social and cultural change has taken place in the man-land relationships of the group involved. First of all, there has been a drastic decline in the proportion of farmers in the Mennonite population. Whereas about 90 per cent of the heads of households were farmers in the early 1930's, in 1965 only 44 per cent continue in agriculture. Also, the open-field system practiced by many of the colonists in Russia has been dropped. An attempt to establish such an arrangement in Witmarsum has shown that it can not be made to function properly in Brazil. The legal system of a democratic country favors the individual over the group, and a dissatisfied minority has been able to require all the colonists to adopt a system which permits more freedom for the individual. The breakdown of the "field community" has brought a breakdown in most of the community-wide, cooperative organizations which were so important in Russia, and which continue to function in the Mennonite colonies elsewhere in Latin America.

In the farm population of all three communities there is an evident process of change from group to individualistic values and forms of social and economic behavior. Much of this is related to the basic changes in the man-land relationships which have taken place during the past 35 years.

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[36]See, for example, T. Lynn Smith, "Agricultural Systems and Standards of Living," Inter-American Economic Affairs, III, 3 (Winter, 1949), 15-28; and Brazil, pp. 359-360.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AND STRATIFICATION

The purpose of this chapter is: (1) to describe the principal social groups in Paraná Mennonite society and to note their relative importance; (2) to analyze the general nature of the social classes and the stratification system; and (3) to indicate the trends which may be observed in these phenomena. Unless there is a statement to the contrary, the data presented in this chapter were secured from interviews with a 20 per cent sample of the heads of households; the description of social stratification is based largely on the present writer's participant observations.

Social Differentiation

Previous chapters in this manuscript have indicated the solidary nature of Mennonite society. It is not surprising to discover, therefore, that almost all of its social groups are cumulative and primary ones. That is, they are based on numerous ties or social bonds, such as kinship, religion, and a common ethnic origin, and involve face-to-face contact.[1] Very few Mennonites are members of outside groups; about 10 per cent of households who were interviewed reported membership in such organizations, and usually these are professional ones, such as commercial or industrial associations.

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[1] See T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life (3rd ed.; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), pp. 367-369.

Locality Groups

After the family, the neighborhood is the most important social group in Paraná Mennonite society. As indicated in previous chapters, Vila Guaíra and Guarituba each consist of one neighborhood, whereas there are three in Boqueirão and five in Witmarsum. In recent years a few families have moved into non-Mennonite neighborhoods, but such persons usually continue to consider themselves members of the locality group from which they came. In fact, most of their visitation is done with their coreligionists, rather than with the families who now live near them.

The Paraná Mennonites are still in the neighborhood stage of organization, and most of their social activities take place within the very small locality group. This feature of their life is similar to that of the Mennonites in Russia, and of those who currently live in the colonies in other Latin American countries. With the disintegration of the communal, village organization which involved the cooperative management of agricultural lands, the Brazilian Mennonite neighborhood has fewer bonds which tie its members together. They no longer supervise a local, primary school, carry responsibility for the maintenance of roads, or share in the management of communal pastures; nor do they continue a regular system of work exchange, as was common in the neighborhoods in Russia, and is still the practice among Mennonites elsewhere in Latin America.

In spite of all these changes, social cohesion remains strong because of the bonds of family, church, language, and sociocultural heritage. It appears that the neighborhood will continue to be the more important locality group for the Paraná Mennonites as long as they continue to be principally an ethnic group. It is the territorial base for the majority of the social contacts and visits of its inhabitants, and neighborhood awareness continues to be very strong.

The community also plays an important role in Mennonite society. The principal functions in all four of those included in this study are religious and ceremonial. The churches are community wide in membership, and the festivals and holidays are community affairs. In Boqueirão and Witmarsum educational and commercial functions also are important. Each has a school with primary and secondary curricula, as well as a cooperative association in which most of the family heads are members.[2] In both of these communities the cooperatives contribute to the budgets of the Mennonite schools, and provide large halls for religious, educational, and other social activities. In Witmarsum this organization also has assumed responsibility for the maintenance of the colony's roads and its hospital. The inhabitants of Guarituba and Vila Guaíra have never established such cooperative associations, but each of these two locality groups has limited commercial functions. Although members of the latter community own and operate 27 businesses in this locality, these establishments principally serve a non-Mennonite clientele. In addition, about

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[2]In 1959 a separate milk-producers' cooperative was formed in Boqueirão. This organization has now become an industry-wide enterprise in Curitiba, but most of its officers continue to be Mennonites.

80 per cent of the employees are non-Mennonites.[3] The remainder are usually members of the owners' families, and have supervisory positions.

The boundaries of both types of locality groups are well defined in the minds of their inhabitants; in most cases they coincide with the location of the outlying Mennonite properties in the nucleated settlement. Only the scattered families in Curitiba are an exception to this generalization. In Boqueirão, where the two neighborhoods of Boqueirão I and Xaxím are contiguous, an intersection marks the divide between the two, and numerous respondents agreed on the location of this boundary.

As the village organization has disintegrated in Mennonite locality groups, the community has gained in functions and social importance; it appears to remain secondary to the neighborhood, however, in its influence on the daily lives of its inhabitants. This probably will continue as long as the most important groups in Mennonite society are those related to the family, and secondarily those associated with the church and the school. A community-wide political organization was never established in Vila Guaíra, Boqueirão, or Guarituba; and the one in Witmarsum has now been disbanded. This suggests that the community probably will remain of lesser importance than the neighborhood in the foreseeable future in all four locality groups.

Social Advantages and Disadvantages of the Closed Community

The traditional type of preferred locality group among the Russian Mennonites has been that of the closed community. This type was developed

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[3]These data are based on a 60 per cent sample of the business establishments in this community.

to a great degree of efficiency in the colonies in Russia, and continues to be important in those in Mexico, British Honduras, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. As indicated earlier in this dissertation, the attempt to maintain such a community in Santa Catarina was unsuccessful. In Paraná only Witmarsum continues to be a closed group. The present writer was interested in what the Mennonites in Paraná considered to be the favorable and the unfavorable features of such an exclusive arrangement.

As expected, the respondents in Vila Guaíra, Boqueirão, and Guaritúba were able to note many more disadvantages than advantages. In Witmarsum, however, many persons had difficulty in thinking of negative features in spite of the problems experienced in this colony in recent years due to the attempt to maintain a communal, closed Mennonite community. Several of the younger leaders, however, analyzed both sides of the question in an objective and adequate manner.

For the proponents of the closed community, perhaps the most favorable feature is the social and psychological security which each member of the group enjoys. No one will be allowed to fail, for the progress of the group is limited by that of the weaker members. Individuals less capable in the management of their farms will be helped by others of the group. In addition, this integrated system provides the opportunity to maintain intact the religious, social, economic, and cultural life of the society in succeeding generations. A high degree of homogeneity, social cohesion, and social control may be achieved which enables the members of the group to remain faithful to their distinctive way of life. A rich social life and an adequate income is assured for each because the well-being of one

affects that of all. Social differences are held to a minimum, and the attempt to achieve a brotherhood of like-minded persons is enhanced. The cooperative and mutual-aid activities which are features of such a closely knit community favor the success of new settlements, many of which probably would fail if there were less mutual responsibility and more individualistic norms and behavior patterns.

Nevertheless, disadvantages also are numerous in the closed community. Although the members are well-adjusted within their small universe, and although they can maintain a strict separation from the "sinful world," such persons usually find it difficult to communicate with people from the outside. This encourages a narrowness of perspective, and a parochialism which finally curbs both intellectual and economic development. There is a studied attempt to stifle personal initiative, which frequently produces a passivity in the majority of the members. The horizons of the colonist's world narrow to the margins of his community, which may encourage sterility of mind and a lack of interest in the affairs of the larger society, both Mennonite and national. Such a perspective leads to an ultraconservatism which hinders progress even in approved areas of community life. A few persons may become authoritarian leaders, whereas the majority is encouraged to listen and obey. Frequently the number of persons capable of leadership exceeds available positions, which leads to internal conflicts between the formal leaders and those persons who wish to be such. The closed community appears to thrive best with an authoritarian rather than a democratic organization.[4]

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[4]All of the above advantages and disadvantages were mentioned to the

This exclusive type of locality group is disappearing in the Mennonite settlements in Brazil as other aspects of their traditional man-land relationships are modified. It is one more evidence of the general trend in Mennonite society away from group toward individualistic values and patterns of behavior.

Other Social Groups

The Mennonites in Paraná participate in only a few types of social groups. These may be classified as formal and informal. The most frequent formal ones are the societies and committees related to the local religious congregation. A very small number of persons also are members of boards or committees associated with the local school or cooperative. Besides these forms of association, the only other important formal group is the local sports club.

All the communities, except Guarituba, have such athletic associations whose major activities are soccer and volleyball. Most of the active members are single males, except for the coaches of the teams. In Boqueirão and Vila Guaíra, however, many married men also are members. In addition to providing recreation for the members of the club, these associations afford an opportunity to compete with nearby Brazilian teams. These events are one of the few instances of approved, equal-status contact with Brazilians in which there is little concern about the danger of a loss

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present writer by respondents in interviews, February 23, March 4 and 27, and April 1, 1965. See also H. Hack, Dutch Group Settlement in Brazil (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, Department of Cultural and Physical Anthropology, Nr. 61, 1959), pp. 62-63; and E.K. Francis, In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 101-102.

in boundary maintenance. A few of the members of the sports clubs in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão are not of Mennonite background, but invariably they speak German. On the soccer field or volleyball court, however, only Portuguese is used.[5]

Membership in the formal groups varies by organization and by community. Seventy-four per cent of all persons aged 20 and over are members of a church (see Chapter IX); 60 per cent of the interviewed heads of households are members of a cooperative, but this varies from 87 per cent in Boqueirão to zero in Vila Guaíra. The proportions of such persons who participate in the special groups of these organizations probably is much lower. Practically no heads of households are members of the sports club in Witmarsum, whereas more than one-third in Boqueirão, and over half in Vila Guaíra report such membership. Approximately 10 per cent of the heads of households are members of non-Mennonite, professional organizations, such as cattle breeders' associations (Witmarsum), transport and factory workers' sindicatos (principally in Vila Guaíra), or academic and cultural organizations (principally in Boqueirão or Witmarsum). About 16 per cent of the heads of households are members of no formal, non-religious organization; 50 per cent hold membership in one (almost always a local cooperative); 23 per cent in two (usually the two cooperatives in Boqueirão); and 11 per cent in three. These data indicate the low degree of participation by the Mennonites in Paraná in formal, nonreligious organizations, other than the local cooperatives.

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[5]For a description of the Boqueirão Sports Club, see Gerhard Klassen, "Mens Sana in Corpore Sano," Bibel und Pflug, XII, 18 (16. September, 1965), 5-6.

Informal social groups in Mennonite society are principally those associated with visitation among relatives, or between other persons of similar age, religious affiliation, or occupational interests in the locality. The present writer found only one large informal group with a well-known name, whose participants also are recognized throughout the community. It consists principally of males from Vila Guaíra who are not members of the church. They gather regularly at a gasoline station, or a neighboring bar, to discuss sports over glasses of beer. Most of them are active in the Blue Danube Sports Club in Vila Guaíra.[6]

During the 1950's the families who arrived from Paraguay tended to visit more among themselves, than with the other families. They were referred to as "The Paraguayans," and in Witmarsum there was some rivalry between the young people in this group and those of the "Krauel Mennonites." It appears that the young men from Paraguay resented the "Kraulers" dating "Paraguayan" girls. If the present writer's conversations with numerous persons are representative, such national distinctions play no important social role at present in the several communities.[7]

The most numerous informal groups are those involving reciprocal visitation, and most of these are based on kinship. About 85 per cent of the heads of households who were interviewed have relatives in the

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[6] It is noteworthy that many of the members of this community were visibly embarrassed when they discovered that the present writer was aware of the existence of this informal group.

[7] In answer to a question about informal, voluntary groups in the Mennonite communities fewer than 8 per cent of the respondents mentioned the "Paraguayans" or the "Germans."

community in which they live; two-thirds of such persons report that they visit each other at least every two weeks. Almost half of the respondents have relatives as neighbors, whom they visit at least once a week. More than one-third have contacts with nonrelatives in their community at least once every two weeks, and about 40 per cent have them at least once a month. The frequency of visits between relatives and nonrelatives in other Mennonite communities in Paraná is much less; about a third of the respondents report such contacts on a monthly basis.

Most of the visitation is limited to the respondents' communities, and to their own ethnic group. Over half of them never visit non-Mennonites, and an additional 20 per cent do so very infrequently (less than once a year); it is noteworthy, however, that 29 per cent make such contacts as often as once a month. Such relationships usually involve relatives of a non-Mennonite spouse or "in-law." Three-fourths of the respondents never visit Mennonites in other states in Brazil, and the remainder do so only about once a year or less.

The present writer was interested in approximating the total number of visits which Mennonite families made or received during a one-month period. This was done during June, 1965, a month in which the number may be slightly above average because Pentecost fell in that month. A visitation form (see Appendix C) was given to 50 families, who made up a 10 per cent quota sample; 40 usable reports were returned.

As expected, there is a great amount of variation in the total number of visits reported by the 40 families. Although 60 per cent were involved in fewer than 30 visits, 20 per cent reported more than 50; only Witmarsum had no families in this latter category. The median number for

the month is 22 per family, or about five a week.[8] About 56 per cent involved relatives; and the total proportions are divided almost evenly between visits made and those received. The purpose of 71 per cent of these contacts was that of friendly intercourse, and the remainder involved the seeking or giving of counsel on personal matters.[9] These data indicate that the Paraná Mennonites are involved in a very active program of visitation, which is an important feature of their rich social life.

Social Stratification

The members of Mennonite society in Paraná, as is true of those in any society, may be divided into social classes. Social stratification among the Paraná Mennonites has been relatively simple for the following reasons: (1) the traditional emphasis on brotherhood, and the social controls on the conspicuous display of wealth, have discouraged the development of extremes in economic and sociopolitical statuses; (2) until recently most of the members of the group were owner-operators of family-sized farms, which kept at a minimum differences in occupational status; and (3) their common ethnicity has encouraged a homogeneity and social cohesion which have curbed any tendency toward the development of

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[8]These data include all activities which the Mennonites consider as visits. The number of formal ones which involve meals, of course, is much lower. Conversations with numerous families indicated that the latter type take place about once a week in many of the homes.

[9]The visitation form includes a category for "business" visits. This does not involve those made in the pursuit of an occupation but rather those related to a personal business matter.

separate class consciousness. In addition, they began life in Brazil as penniless refugees, and capital accumulation was very slow during the first 20 years; until recently this kept most of the Mennonites on a similar economic level.

Social Classes in Paraná Mennonite Society

The present writer accepts the conceptual framework of Smith for the analysis of social class in Paraná Mennonite society. That is, in addition to similar economic, occupational, and sociopolitical statuses, the members must possess a sense of class consciousness or solidarity. Also, the three broad social strata may be distinguished by a determination of their members' participation in the three basic economic functions of capitalist, manager, and laborer.[10] The members of the upper class perform principally the function of capitalist; those of the middle stratum exercise all three, although these may vary in degree of importance by occupation; whereas those of the lower class perform the task of laborer. In terms of these functional distinctions, the Brazilian Mennonites have been and continue to be predominantly a middle-class group.

The ideal Mennonite position concerning social class and stratification is a denial of any important differences between the members of the group. This made a direct study of the topic almost impossible, because respondents frequently reacted very negatively to any discussion of the subject. In a pilot study in Witmarsum, in which the present writer participated with members of the Research Council of the University

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[10] See Smith, op. cit., pp. 385-390.

of Paraná, most respondents refused to classify themselves in terms of social class. However, when asked whether differences existed among the colonists, 63 per cent answered affirmatively, of whom 84 per cent, in noting the causes of these differences, mentioned economic factors (income, possessions, and ownership and size of property). The remainder of the factors were divided evenly between educational achievement and positions of authority (religious and community leadership). Numerous conversations with members of the other three communities convinced the present writer that most Mennonites perceive of the differences among themselves in terms of economic and occupational factors. Inasmuch as they are extremely sensitive about any inquiry into their levels of income, and because their occupations are excellent indicators of their class and status in Mennonite society, the present writer decided to make his analysis by occupational status.

No upper class is found in Mennonite society, if the functional distinctions given earlier are used as the criteria. The persons in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão who are private businessmen, including owners of small factories, display a middle-class orientation and style of life. Although most of their time is dedicated to the activities of the capitalist and the manager, they occasionally participate in manual labor, and do not consider this to be demeaning. They refer to themselves as the upper level of the middle class, and the present writer detected no sense of an upper-class consciousness among them. It appears likely, however, that some of these persons, especially the younger ones who are not members of the church, may become an upper-

class elite in the future. Such a group is not unknown to the Russian Mennonites, who owned more than 3,000,000 acres of land in Russia before the outbreak of World War I, and one-third of it was the property of 384 families. The largest estate consisted of 54,000 acres.[11] By 1910 a small group of wealthy industrialists also had developed, and their huge factories and palatial mansions clearly set them apart from most of their brethren.[12] At present no such elite is found in the study group.

Of all employed male heads of households in the group under consideration, 72 per cent are members of the middle class. The proportion is highest in Witmarsum and drops consistently as one passes from the rural to the urban communities. (See Table XII.) This decline is due to the growing number of young men in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão who accept employment as wage earners. As indicated in Chapter IV, most of the younger men who do not enter agriculture become skilled craftsmen or semiskilled operatives. About 75 per cent of the latter group, however, are taxi drivers, truckers, or milk deliverymen who own their vehicles and manage their business operations. These persons, therefore, are members of the middle class, as defined in this manuscript. The current distribution of the study population by social class is similar to that of the Mennonites in Russia in 1910. At that time 3 per cent of the

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[11] See Cornelius Krahn (ed.), From the Steppes to the Prairies (Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publication Office, 1949), p. 6.

[12] See, for example, David G. Rempel, "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia: A Study of their Settlements and Economic Development from 1789 to 1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Stanford University, 1933), chapter XIII.

Table XII. Social Class and Occupational Status, in Percentages, of Male Heads of Households in Four Paraná Mennonite Communities, 1965

Social class and occupational status	Total	Witmarsum	Guarituba	Boqueirão	Vila Guaíra
Middle class	72.2	92.6	90	67.8	55.3
Proprietors and managers	11.1	1.7	10	8.8	25.4
Self-employed professionals	1.7	0.8	--	1.5	3.5
Farmers	43.7	84.3	60	42.4	--
Self-employed craftsmen	3.9	2.5	5	3.9	5.3
Teachers with part-time farms	1.1	2.5	--	1.0	--
Sales[a]	2.4	--	5	1.9	5.3
Operatives[a]	8.3	0.8	10	8.3	15.8
Lower class	27.8	7.4	10	32.2	44.7
Salaried professionals	4.6	2.5	--	3.9	8.8
Craftsmen	10.8	--	--	13.2	20.2
Operatives	3.7	3.3	5	3.4	4.4
Sales workers	2.2	--	--	2.9	3.5
Clerical workers	1.7	--	--	2.9	1.7
Laborers	4.8	1.6	5	5.9	6.1
Numbers	(460)	(121)	(20)	(205)	(114)

[a]Consists of persons who are self-employed, or who own their equipment and manage their operations.

population made up an upper class elite, 72 per cent were in the middle class, and 25 per cent in the laboring class.[13]

An examination of Table XII also indicates the increasing occupational heterogeneity of the Boqueirão and Vila Guaíra communities. In general the variations in the several occupations conform to expected rural-urban differences. The great increase in the proportion of persons in the lower class in these two settlements probably is accompanied by a change in values and perspectives as compared with those considered to be traditional in Mennonite society.

After almost a year of participant observation of the study group the present writer concludes that the middle class has four recognized substrata. Owners of the larger business establishments, and self-employed professionals rank highest. In second place are the proprietors of smaller businesses and the more prosperous farmers (those with the large dairy herds, who also usually own a car or truck). Third come the self-employed, skilled craftsmen, those engaged in sales, and the less prosperous farmers. A group which is difficult to classify properly consists of a small number of teachers who have part-time farms and those with university diplomas. It is the present writer's impression that these persons also are ranked in the third level of the middle class. A landless teacher, however, appears to be a "border line case" unless he has a university degree. His low salary, plus the fact that he does not manage a business,

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[13] See Adolf Ehrt, Das Mennonitentum in Russland von seiner Einwanderung bis zur Gegenwart (Langensalza: Julius Beltz Verlag, 1932), pp. 94-96.

lower his status.[14] The fourth level of the middle class is made up of the taxi drivers, truckers, and deliverymen who own their vehicles and manage their operations. The functional distinctions between the middle and lower classes which are used in this dissertation generally fit the implicit stratification system in Mennonite society. Ownership and management of land, or of the equipment used in a nonagricultural business usually is necessary for membership in the middle class.

Twenty-eight per cent of the employed, male heads of households in the study population are members of the lower class. This stratum has three recognized subdivisions. The upper one consists of salaried professionals (principally elementary-school teachers) and skilled craftsmen. The middle portion is made up of wage earners in the following occupational categories: taxi drivers, truckers, and deliverymen; sales workers; and clerical personnel. The lower level is composed of factory workers and casual day laborers. The Mennonites refer to this social stratum as the "working class," which calls attention to the role which its members play in society, namely that of exercising the economic function of laborer.

Numerous informal conversations with members of the study group convinced the present writer that most of the members of the two broad social strata are aware of their relative positions. There is a definite class consciousness in the implicit stratification system,

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[14] One teacher, partially in jest, told the present writer that if a Mennonite teacher does not own some property he is just a member of the laboring class who works in a suit. A university degree, however, may be a substitute for the ownership of property.

especially in Vila Guaíra. Members of the working class are aware of their lower status, but they display no interest in becoming members of the middle class if doing so means that they must engage in farming; most of them are unable to make the necessary capital investment to enter private business.

The occupational stratification indicated above is closely related to economic and sociopolitical stratification. Most of the religious and community leaders are in the upper two levels of the middle class. Although the younger, professional "teacher-preachers" are respected for their knowledge and training, they were among the first to tell the present writer that they rank below the successful businessmen and farmers who serve the church or community in positions of leadership.

A trend toward increased social stratification may be observed among the Paraná Mennonites. When the proportions of employed male heads of households are examined in terms of the social substrata described earlier, it is clear that this change has two principal features: (1) the proportion of persons in the lower class rises consistently as one passes from the rural to the urban communities; and (2) there is much more heterogeneity within the middle class in Boqueirão and Vila Guaíra, than in Guarituba and Witmarsum. (See Table XIII.) This change in the two former communities is due to the various opportunities for diversification of occupation in the urban and rurban settings; probably it is also an indication of increased heterogeneity of interests and perspectives of the members of these settlements. Also, the small groups of wealthy businessmen in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão have the

Table XIII. The Relative Importance in Percentages, of the Subclasses in Four Paraná Mennonite Communities, Based upon the Data for Male Heads of Households, 1965

Class and status level	Witmarsum	Guarituba	Boqueirão	Vila Guaíra
Middle class				
Level I	0.8	--	4.4	12.3
Level II	34.7	60	29.7	16.7
Level III	56.3	30	25.4	10.5
Level IV	0.8	--	8.3	15.8
Lower class				
Level I	2.5	--	17.1	29.0
Level II	3.3	5	9.2	9.6
Level III	1.6	5	5.9	6.1
Totals	100.0	100	100.0	100.0
Numbers	(121)	(20)	(205)	(114)

potential to become an incipient upper class, if the traditional social controls on the conspicuous display of wealth should weaken, as they did in the Mennonite colonies in southern Russia after 1880. The present writer observed a tendency among the wealthy businessmen to buy several cars, expensive musical instruments, or high-quality photographic equipment, which leads him to believe that conspicuous consumption is increasing.

A further indication of the increased social stratification among the Mennonites in Paraná may be secured by comparing the occupational statuses of the heads of households with those of their fathers.[15] If the occupational ranking described earlier in this chapter is used as the criterion, more than one-half of the respondents (54 per cent) have occupations with the same rank as that of their fathers; 20 per cent have those with a higher rank, and 26 per cent are in occupations with a lower one. Farmers resemble their progenitors most closely (91 per cent), followed by professional persons (43 per cent), craftsmen (33 per cent), and businessmen (15 per cent). Most of the persons whose occupational rank is higher than that of their fathers are businessmen, whereas those with a lower one are principally wage-earning craftsmen and operatives. In both cases their fathers usually were farmers (70 per cent of the total).

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[15]This was done for the 89 males in the 20 per cent sample, for whom data were available. Widows and single female heads of households were not included because they have the ascribed status of their deceased husbands or of their parents.

These data indicate the significant shift away from farming into nonagricultural occupations by the heads of households. This diversification of occupational status is accompanied by increasing social stratification and by a higher degree of heterogeneity in interests and perspectives. These trends probably will continue, and may increase, as the Mennonites in Paraná become increasingly urban in residence. Also, they may be expected to stimulate continued social and cultural change in the society studied here.

Summary

The Mennonites in Paraná continue to have a rich social life in their nucleated settlements. Most of their contacts are with others of their own group within their home neighborhood or community. Visitation with relatives and friends continues to be very frequent, whereas contacts with non-Mennonites are rare for most of the members of the study group. Participation in formal organizations is very limited; about 10 per cent of the heads of households are members of such outside associations. Within their own communities, membership is most common in formal organizations associated with the local church, school, cooperative, or sports club.

The study group continues to be predominately a middle-class society. There is evidence, however, that in Boqueirão and Vila Guaíra the system of social stratification is becoming more complex and heterogeneous. The proportion of persons in the lower class is increasing, and within the middle class increased diversification is taking place. One-half of the heads of households who were interviewed have a different occupational status than that of their fathers--another evidence of social and cultural

change, which is such a prominent feature of the social organization of Mennonite society in Paraná.

CHAPTER VIII

DOMESTIC, EDUCATIONAL, AND GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEMS

This chapter is concerned with three of the nucleated social institutions in Mennonite society in Paraná; namely, the family, school, and local government. All three of these were very stable in the traditional society of the Russian Mennonites before their migration to Latin America. It would be impossible to describe in detail all of the characteristics of these institutions, therefore, interest has been focused upon those features in which change is taking place to a noticeable degree.

The Mennonite Domestic System

The core of the domestic system is the family, whose highly integrated and interrelated parts produce a very stable institution in Mennonite society. The family continues to be patriarchal, authoritarian, and sacred in nature; also, it displays most of the features of familism, which is evident especially in Witmarsum.[1] The relationships between the members of the more conservative homes are reminiscent of those of the traditional German family. Their values, beliefs, statuses, and roles are closely related to those of the church, which in turn are the same being taught and supported by the school. These three social institutions function in a coordinated manner to transmit the cultural

[1] For a description of familism, see Ernest W. Burgess, Harvey J. Locke, and Mary Margaret Thomes, The Family: From Institution to Companionship (3rd ed.; New York: American Book Co., 1963), pp. 32-36.

heritage of the group from one generation to another; but the Mennonite family plays the most important role in this process.

Marriage and the family in the study group are based on the specific teachings of the Bible. Marriage is considered to be a sacred bond instituted by God; the husband and father is the undisputed head of the family; his wife is to be submissive to him; and the children are to honor and obey their parents.[2] The majority of the families hold daily devotions and prayers (see Chapter IX), and children participate in the frequent programs in the churches by reciting poems, presenting skits, and providing special musical selections. The formal announcement of engagements, as well as the celebration of marriages, are occasions for special worship services, which often are combined with recreational activities. In addition, other religious services are held to commemorate couples' silver and golden wedding anniversaries. These meetings are well attended by young and old, and the religious nature of the family ties are thus strengthened. The Bible is used as the authority for the prohibition of separation, divorce, and remarriage, as well as for the encouragement of the married state for adults,[3] and practice conforms closely to the ideal. (See Chapter IV.)

Roles of Family Members

Although the family in Paraná Mennonite society remains one of the most stable of its social institutions, some changes may be observed in its features. The present writer noted that some younger fathers,

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[2]See especially Genesis 2:18-24, Ephesians 5:21-6:4, and Colossians 3:18-21.

[3]See Matthew 19:3-9, and I Corinthians 7:9-16.

especially in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão, appear to be less authoritarian than older ones. Several respondents said that they did not concur with the strict, imperative manner of their fathers, and they wanted to be closer to and more affectionate with their children. The wife continues to play a role which is subordinate to that of her husband, but she appears to enjoy more freedom than was true of Mennonite wives in Russia. Although farmers' wives may still work in the barn and in the fields, the latter definitely is decreasing. In addition, all women enjoy more freedom in the activities of their churches, including the Members' Assemblies. (See Chapter IX.) The Mennonite wife and mother is honored and respected by her husband and children, but the few who dominate their families are considered to be unfortunate deviants.

Perhaps the greatest change in the roles of husbands and wives has been that of an increase in the affectional nature of their relationship. The traditional Mennonite couple frequently was characterized by a cool, or distant relationship; this continues in the colonies in Paraguay.[4] Many of the younger families, especially those in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão, appear to have more affectionate husband-wife relations than those of earlier generations.

Parent-child relations usually are strict and formal. They involve very little display of feelings, even in highly emotional situations. An example of this is that of a Mennonite girl who went to Germany to study. Her family took her to Santos to meet the ship, and

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[4]See H. Hack, Die Kolonisation der Mennoniten im Paraguayischen Chaco (Amsterdam: Koenigliches Tropeninstitut, Abteilung fuer kulturelle und physische Anthropologie, Nr. 65 [1961]), p. 185.

the parting was described to the present writer by a non-Mennonite young man who accompanied them. "When it was time for her to embark, she shook hands with her parents and the rest of us, turned around and walked up the gangplank. Can you imagine it--no abraços, no kisses, and no tears!" The present writer rarely observed parents playing with their children, and such instances were limited to the more progressive, well-educated families. Young people are treated as children until they are married, and a common proverb concerning them is the following: "children are to be seen, and not heard." They are taught to obey their parents, and this often involves an unquestioning obedience. This extreme form of subordination, which was typical of traditional Mennonite families and which still is common among those in Paraguay,[5] appears to be disappearing in the younger families in Paraná. It is still found in some of the more conservative ones in Witmarsum; but less austere types of parent-child relationships are becoming more common. An indication of the significant change in the type of discipline used by parents with their children is the following: in Witmarsum 80 per cent of the respondents said that corporal punishment was the principal type given to their children; in the other three communities only one respondent (of a total of 78) gave such a reply. This change appears to be due to at least two factors: (1) the permissive nature of parent-child relations in Brazilian families, which may be attractive to some of the younger Mennonites; and (2) the emphasis on affectionate family relations

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[5] Ibid.

in the religious educational materials which come from the Mennonite churches in North America, and which are used in the Sunday Schools and Bible Schools in Paraná. Informal conversations with some of the younger couples led the present writer to conclude that the latter factor is the more important one.

Family Functions

The Mennonite family in Paraná continues to exercise its traditional functions to a great degree.[6] In each of them, however, observable change is taking place. The demographic data related to the family are presented in Chapters IV and V. They indicate that family size and fertility levels are lower in Paraná than they were in the Mennonite population in Russia. In spite of these changes, however, the family continues to exercise the reproductive function in a very efficient manner. The number of German-speaking Mennonites in Brazil more than tripled during the past 35 years. (See Chapter V.) Six per cent of the 500 couples in Paraná have no children; but of the 450 who have been married five or more years, only 2.7 per cent are childless. This low proportion probably approaches the biological minimum, because one-third of the latter cases involve women who were married after age 45.[7]

The Mennonite family continues to provide the sustenance, care, and rearing of the young. Children are not placed in day nurseries, nor

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[6]For a list of the seven functions usually associated with the family, see T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (3rd ed.; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), p. 477.

[7]By way of comparison, the number of childless couples in Fernheim, Paraguay, is reported to be 2 per cent. See Hack, op. cit., p. 181.

are they supervised by maids in the home while their mothers work. As indicated in Chapter IV, most women terminate any outside employment as soon as they are married. During their first six years of life, children are nurtured exclusively within their own families. Some families send their children to kindergarten at the age of six, which is slightly younger than the traditional age at which they were sent to school before the establishment of the kindergarten.

The family is still the principal agency for the education of children in manual arts and homemaking. Whereas the agricultural families train the boys in the art of farming, the other families are much less important in the education of young males for their future occupation. In all the homes, however, the girls learn the varied skills needed to be efficient housewives and homemakers. As the Mennonites become more urban in residence and occupation, the educational role of the family decreases--a process which has been observed in many groups. The school is accepting an ever greater share of this function, as an increasing number of Mennonite youth continue their formal education beyond the primary level. In general there is little reading material in the home, except the Bible and Sunday School quarterly. In answer to the question, "How many periodicals or papers do you subscribe to?" the percentages of the 103 respondents, classified by number of subscriptions, is as follows: none, 18; one, 23; two, 21; three, 19; four, 7; and five or more, 12. Almost two-thirds of the families receive one to three periodicals on a regular basis. The most common ones are Bibel und Pflug,

a biweekly Mennonite paper published in Curitiba, and the two German-language Mennonite papers from Canada, Die Mennonitische Rundschau and Der Bote. Two-thirds of all reported subscriptions are Mennonite papers; and 91 per cent are German-language publications.[8]

Agricultural families continue to be important in determining the social status of their offspring in Mennonite society. This has decreased to a great degree in the nonfarm families, in which there is a definite trend from ascribed to achieved status on the part of children. In both rural and urban areas, however, the family is very important in the induction of the children into Mennonite society, in which facility in a distinctive dialect is a sine qua non for full-fledged membership.

The Mennonite family is the principal locus for recreational and other social activities of its members. Play with one's siblings and cousins is perhaps the most frequent type of activity for little children, and the reciprocal visiting of relatives occupies much of the adults' leisure time. Before 1960 the home also was important as the place where young people gathered for folksinging and informal dancing. This practice has disappeared in recent years due to pressure from religious leaders (see Chapter IX), and now the church has accepted an increasing responsibility to provide recreation for unmarried youth and adolescents. Many young men, however, seek the entertainment provided by commercial enterprises in Curitiba. Thus it is apparent that the Mennonite family is losing part of this function.

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[8]Respondents in Witmarsum subscribe to more periodicals than those in the other communities. This may be due to the greater difficulty of buying magazines in an informal manner. Numerous interviewees in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão noted that they buy Brazilian papers and magazines on the newsstands, although not on a regular basis.

Protection of members, and the aiding of those in need continue to be important responsibilities of the Mennonite family. In the former instance this is done principally through the provision of social and psychological security. Every child or young adult knows that his family will support him if he is threatened by danger or ostracism. If a church member is disciplined, his entire family may withdraw their membership. Many rural parents assist their children to establish new farms and the present writer found that close relatives frequently lend each other money without interest or written notes. All of the heads of households who were interviewed said that family members will come to the aid of any one of their number who may be in need. As an increasing number are engaged in wage-earning occupations, the need and frequency of such aid appear to be declining. But even in the urban families the present writer observed a willingness to protect and shield members from any dangers or difficulties which they faced, whether in business, in the church, or in the community.

The Mennonite family in Paraná is the primary agency for the care of its members who are aged, handicapped, or incapacitated. In Russia, as indicated in Chapter II, numerous charitable institutions were established, including homes for the aged, orphans, and the mentally ill. Mennonites in Brazil have not organized such institutions due to the smallness of their group, and their lack of funds. As a result, the family again has become the principal agency for exercising the above-mentioned function. Five per cent of the 500 families in the study population have relatives (principally a parent of one of the spouses)

who live with them on a permanent basis.[9] The proportion varies from zero in Guarituba, to 1.6 per cent in Witmarsum, 4.4 per cent in Boqueirão, and 10.8 per cent in Vila Guaíra. In the rural and rurban communities elderly couples usually maintain a separate household as long as they can care for themselves, which reduces the above percentages for these settlements. The high costs of such an arrangement in Vila Guaíra discourages its practice, and as a result, the percentage of homes with three generations is more common in the urban Mennonite community than in the other three. It is expected that a widowed person will be welcome to live with a married son or daughter, if the former should so desire. Families also care for mentally retarded children as well as for persons with a mental illness. Only the rare individual who is a danger to himself or to other members of the family is committed to a mental hospital. When asked why they do not place the aged and mentally ill in non-Mennonite homes or hospitals, most respondents mentioned the following reasons: (1) the moral obligation to care for one's aged or handicapped parents and other relatives; (2) the generally inferior level of treatment and facilities of state institutions; (3) inability to afford the costs of private homes or hospitals; and (4) reluctance to place such persons in a non-Mennonite environment where everything, including the language, would be totally foreign to the patients. The present writer concludes that the first and last reasons are the most important ones, because they involve central values in

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[9] It is interesting to note that in 1950, 8.1 per cent of the private households in Brazil included such relatives. See Smith, op. cit., p. 475.

Mennonite society, namely, a person's primary responsibilities are to the members of his family, and most of his contacts should be with other Mennonites who speak his own language, literally and figuratively.

Trends in the Family

The preceding sections have indicated that much observable change has taken place in some of the behavior patterns associated with marriage and the family in Paraná Mennonite society. In general the trend is away from group-controlled and group-oriented patterns toward those which grant more freedom to the individual. Much of this may be due to the greater opportunities for individualistic behavior which are made possible by residence in or near Curitiba. Interviews and informal conversations with numerous parents and young people indicate that the following changes are taking place: (1) many young people, especially those in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão, are involved in dating and courtship activities which frequently take them away from their ethnic group, including attendance at movies, and promenades in the center of the city; (2) mate selection is expected to involve romantic love as one of its principal factors; and (3) parental interference in the selection of a marriage partner now is very slight.[10] Although most marriages continue to be endogamous, an

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[10]In answer to a question, "Is there anyone who can interfere in a marriage?" 68 per cent of the heads of households who were interviewed replied affirmatively. Of this group, 81 per cent indicated parents, but many respondents told the present writer that they normally would limit such interference to instances where a child selected a non-Mennonite, or an extremely deviant person of Mennonite background. A few cases, well known to all parents, have involved girls who were forbidden to marry young men of the study group. Later they went to other areas to work, and married "Brazilians." These experiences appear to have made parents very cautious about interfering in proposed marriages between members of Mennonite society.

increase in the number of mixed marriages has taken place since the Mennonites have come to Paraná. This probably is due to the loss of geographical isolation from non-Mennonite society, and the increase of equal-status contacts between Mennonites and outsiders in urban occupations. In addition to the 42 mixed marriages in the study group, the present writer is aware of at least 34 others in Paraná who no longer participate actively in Mennonite society. This situation is very different from that of the Mennonites in Russia, where marriage with outsiders was almost unheard of before 1914.[11] Most of the mixed marriages have involved German-speaking spouses, but in recent years there has been a significant trend toward marriages with persons who speak only Portuguese. (See Chapter XI.) Such couples usually move to other areas and have little communication with members of Mennonite society, even in the case of several who serve as Mennonite missionaries among Portuguese-speaking people. The principal causal factors in the increased number of mixed marriages appear to be the rise in contacts of Mennonite students and workers with outsiders, plus the decline in parental control of the courtship and mate selection of their children.

Recent changes in wedding practices also indicate the decreasing influence of group-oriented customs. The typical wedding activities included a recreational program called Polterabend, which took place the evening before the actual ceremony. Guests brought their gifts at this time, and the bridal couple sat at the front of the hall as honored

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[11] See Gerhard Lohrenz, Sagradowka: Die Geschichte einer Ansiedlung im Sueden Russlands (Rosthern, Saskatchewan: Echo-Verlag, 1947), p. 85.

guests for a special program which was planned and presented by friends of the nuptial pair. An accepted part of the program was the humorous notation of the shortcomings of the couple, or even of their parents. This group-oriented activity is being discarded, and its demise probably represents the desires of younger couples to control their wedding activities more completely and to eliminate the opportunity for group-initiated criticism. The other practice which is disappearing rapidly from Mennonite weddings is the singing of the Kranzlied during the recreational program which is held on the evening of the wedding day. Traditionally this song was sung by the young people present for the festivities, who also removed the bride's veil and replaced it with the black bow worn by married women. The song reminds the bride that now she is a wife, and she is to be subject to her husband. This practice is considered to be old-fashioned by most Mennonite youth because it involves the practically discarded bow, and perhaps also because of its strong statement about the lordship of the male in the home. In addition, in some cases the bridal couple, who was seated on two chairs which were bound together, was lifted high into the air by the young men. The groom had to promise to buy them beer before the couple was lowered to the floor. Such frivolity was offensive to many persons, which also may have been a factor in the decline of this practice. It is the opinion of the present writer, however, that the discontinuance of this custom also involves an attempt on the part of the bridal pair to control the ceremonies associated with the wedding, and to eliminate an activity which subjected them to jesting by the larger group.

The foregoing analysis indicates that the general process of social change from group-oriented patterns to those more sensitive to individual values and norms is operative in the domestic system of the Paraná Mennonites. Many of the changes are similar to those observed in numerous societies in the industrialized areas of the western world. These include the following: an increased emphasis on romantic love; marriage at a younger age; smaller families; a reduction in the relative importance of some of the functions of the family; an increase in the affectional nature of the husband-wife relationships; a decrease in authoritarianism on the part of the father; and an increase in emphasis on the child, as well as more affectional father-child relations.[12] At present, however, the Mennonite family in Paraná does not demonstrate any tendency to become less stable; separation, desertion, and illegitimacy are very rare. This stability is closely related to the strong religious and other social controls which curb any tendency for unhappy couples to separate. In addition, the endogamous nature of the union, and the common sociocultural heritage shared by husband and wife reduce the differences and misunderstandings which are more common in marriages of persons with less similar backgrounds. The changes noted above are found in both rural and urban families, although the former are less advanced in some of these features. As expected, they are more pronounced in the urban and rurban families and

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[12] See, for example, W.F. Ogburn and M.F. Nimkoff, Technology and the Changing Family (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1955), passim. An analysis of changes in the family in the western world during the past half-century may be found in William J. Goode, World Revolution and Family Patterns (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1963), pp. 27-86.

appear to be associated in all cases with a rise in the standard of living. The trends in social change in marriage and the family are not limited to those communities most affected by urbanization and industrialization, although these phenomena may affect indirectly the rural families as well. Conversely, the notable stability of the Mennonite family continues in urban as well as other communities, and is due largely to ethnic and religious values and norms.

The Mennonite Educational System

The social system in Paraná Mennonite society which is concerned with the education of the young involves the family, the church, and the school. The church supports the school, and many of the members of the school boards are ministers. The school, in turn, reinforces the values which are taught both explicitly and implicitly by the family and the church. Each school day begins with a devotional period, and Bible Study is one of the required courses for all students. The teachers are exemplary church members, or at least worthy candidates for membership. Mennonites expect their schools to prepare students to participate in the varied life of Mennonite society, as well as to be conversant with Brazilian values, society, and culture.

Historical Role of the School

The Russian Mennonites consistently placed high value on the local school. An elementary school was in operation within a year or two of

the establishment of a new village.[13] Inasmuch as most Mennonites were farmers, it is not surprising to discover that most of them received only a primary education. (See Chapter IV.) In 1928, in southern Russia, 84.5 per cent of the church members had an elementary education, and an additional 11.6 per cent had completed high school.[14] The remainder of the population was evenly divided between persons with normal-school training, and those with college or university degrees. Thus, it is clear that although the Russian Mennonites placed much importance on the acquisition of an education, such training usually involved only the elementary years.

Before 1880 the Mennonite schools served to prepare children to live in isolated colonies which amounted to cultural islands in the Russian environment. Due to a systematic program of internal supervision, most of the schools maintained high standards during the period from 1843 to 1880.[15] After 1881 the Mennonite schools were placed under the direct supervision of the government, and children received more exposure to things Russian. After 1910, the role of the school became increasingly

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[13]Although such schools were not always of the highest quality, one writer notes that at least "there was some sort of school, taught by some sort of a teacher in some sort of a building." P.M. Friesen, Die Alt-Evangelische Bruederschaft in Russland (1789-1910) im Rahmen der mennonitischen Gesamtgeschichte (Halbstadt, Ukraine: Verlagsgesellschaft Raduga, 1911), p. 629.

[14]Adolf Ehrt, Das Mennonitentum in Russland von seiner Einwanderung bis zur Gegenwart (Langensalza: Julius Beltz Verlag, 1932), p. 100. Two-thirds of the ministers had only a primary-school education, see Friesen, op. cit., p. 729.

[15]For an analysis of the school system in southern Russia, see Peter Braun, "The Educational System of the Mennonite Colonies in South Russia," Mennonite Quarterly Review, III, 3 (July, 1929), 169-182.

that of introducing the children to Russian values and culture. Only religion was taught in the German language, and non-Mennonites were assigned as teachers.

When the Mennonite refugees arrived in Santa Catarina in 1930, the establishment of schools was one of their first concerns. In spite of serious economic problems, plans were made to have one in each village. In January, 1931, the first elementary school was opened, and within a year, five were functioning; in 1935 a secondary school was inaugurated.[16] By 1936 there were three village schools in Witmarsum, and three in Auhagen. They were considered to be "one of the chief means to cultivate and promote the cultural values and tasks which history has given us, and to transmit these values to the oncoming generation . . . ."[17] In addition to the teaching of basic skills common to all elementary schools, instruction in German was considered to be very important.[18] The role of the school was to make possible the maintenance of German culture while at the same time encouraging the children to "love their new fatherland."[19] In 1936 the Mennonites established their first elementary school in Paraná which was located in Boqueirão.[20]

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[16]See Peter Klassen, "The Mennonites of Brazil," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XI, 2 (April, 1937), 107-118.

[17]Ibid., p. 114.

[18]See Gerd Uwe Kliewer, "Schulen im Urwald: Das Schulwesen der Mennonitenkolonien in Santa Catarina von 1931 bis 1936," Bibel und Pflug, VI, 19 (1. Oktober, 1959), 6-7, and 20 (16. Oktober, 1959), 2-3.

[19]Klassen, op. cit., p. 115.

[20]Franz Goertz, "Der Anfang in Boqueirão," in Jahrbuch der Mennoniten in Suedamerika, 1961, Henrique Ens and Gustav E. Reimer (eds.) (Curitiba: Tipografia Santa Cruz, Ltda., 1961), p. 77.

The schools served the Mennonite communities until 1938 when they were taken over by the Brazilian government as part of Vargas' nationalization program. Inasmuch as the teachers were foreign-born, and the language of the schools was German, the government rented the buildings from their owners and placed Brazilian teachers in them. The whole educational system thus became part of the Brazilian state-school organization. After World War II, the schools were returned to the Mennonites, but the curricula are now under the supervision of the respective Brazilian authorities, and the graduates are tested by government-appointed examiners. These historical circumstances, of course, have had a great effect on the role and functions of the schools, especially with respect to things German.

Functions of the Schools

The primary task of the Mennonite schools is that of transmitting essential knowledge and basic skills to the students. In general the program is strictly academic in nature, and reflects the general lack of manual arts (industrial arts, home economics, typing, and so on) which is a common feature of the Brazilian curriculum. An important exception, however, is the very active program of training students to play musical instruments. The program of study is that prescribed by law, and in Witmarsum's "rural school," the requirements are less stringent than in Boqueirão.[21] In addition to the primary task of the school, Mennonites expect their educational institutions to prepare the youth to participate actively in what are considered the finer things of their

[21] For an outline of the requirements for rural primary schools in Paraná, see Smith, Brazil, pp. 496-499.

way of life. They expect the school to instill in the students an appreciation and acceptance of their values of piety, thrift, honesty, and hard work, and to give them competence in the skills necessary to interact acceptably in the formal activities of the group. To satisfy these expectations, the schools seek to give the students proficiency in High German, as well as to provide them with basic knowledge about Mennonite history, and German literature, music, and history. In these activities the schools are very similar to those of the Russian Mennonites before 1910.

Numerous conversations with respondents of all classes indicated that they expect the schools to perform a third function; namely that of orienting the children to Brazilian values and sociocultural patterns. The learning of Portuguese in the primary school is considered to be of vital importance, and all those interviewed desire that their children develop a limited sense of identification with their new homeland. They expect their children to become loyal citizens of Brazil, with an appreciation for the good things in Brazilian culture, while at the same time remaining faithful to their Mennonite and German cultural heritage. All the teachers appear to accept this pluralistic goal, and give no indication of a conscious division of loyalties. It is clear, however, that the appreciation of things Brazilian is to be tempered and limited by the norms of their distinctive sociocultural heritage. One teacher noted that very few young people are so patriotic that they become anti-Mennonite.[22] The schools, therefore, have been given the task of

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[22] One respondent said, "Our Mennonite teachers today instruct the children to sing patriotic songs, and say nationalistic poems, but they know how to maintain a balance with our basically German background." Interview, March 4, 1965.

preparing Mennonite youth to participate in the culturally pluralistic environment of Paraná, where this solution to the problems of contact between different immigrant groups and Brazilian society has gained much approval.

The school functions as the "cultural center" of the Mennonite community. The residents receive an introduction to Brazilian and German music, literature, and dramatic materials through numerous public programs. Many parents also gain appreciation for new ideas and for Brazilian ways and values through their children. The most advanced of the schools (ginásios) prepare Mennonite students for further training in Brazilian senior high schools, colleges, and universities, and also train many of them to take responsibilities in the program of their local church. Thus, the role of the school is that of assisting youth to become proficient in two cultures. It is of the greatest importance in guiding the younger generation in this process so that a minimum of conflict develops as the students become bicultural in their orientation. This explicit role represents a great change from that of most of the schools in Russia, where the students were trained to be well-adjusted members of isolated, Mennonite communities.

Mennonite Schools in Paraná

As noted earlier, the first Mennonite school in Paraná was established in 1936 in Boqueirão. It continues to the present time, and total enrollment in 1964 was 453. Presently known as the Escola Erasto Gaertner, it has kindergarten, a four-year primary curriculum, and a four-year ginásio. The latter corresponds roughly to grades five through nine or ten in the

United States. During the period from 1954 to 1964 the enrollment in the primary school more than tripled (from 95 in 1954 to 308 in 1964).[23] These data indicate that an increasing proportion of the Mennonite children in Boqueirão and Vila Guaíra are attending this school, as the increase in enrollment is much greater than that of the population during this period.[24] It is noteworthy that the school has always had a substantial number of children from non-Mennonite families. The proportion rose steadily from 1954 to 1958, when almost a third (32.5 per cent) of the students in the primary department were in this category; since 1958 the proportion has been declining, and in 1964 about 23 per cent were non-Mennonites.

The enrollment in the ginásio, which began in 1957, almost tripled between then and 1964 (from 49 to 145). The proportions of non-Mennonite students in the ginásio rose to a high of 32 per cent in 1962 but declined to 27 per cent in 1964, due largely to the inauguration of a public school of this level which opened in Boqueirão in 1963.

The presence of so many non-Mennonite students, as well as three to five outside teachers in the ginásio, might be expected to influence any feelings of social distance between the two groups. There is no evidence that these contacts reduced such feelings on the part of Mennonite students who are now in non-Mennonite schools beyond the ginásio level. In fact, a slightly lower proportion of those from Boqueirão had favorable attitudes toward "Brazilians" as measured by the Grice-Remmers scale

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[23]The data for this school were secured from Waldemar Ens, Director, Escola Erasto Gaertner, Boqueirão, Curitiba, Paraná.

[24]The estimated population of Boqueirão and Vila Guaíra in 1954 was 1,120. See Bibel and Pflug, I, 8 (16. Mai, 1954), 7-8. In 1964 the total population of these two settlements was 1,641, an increase of 46.5 per cent.

than was the case for students in Witmarsum or Vila Guaíra (see Chapter IX).[25] These data suggest that there has been little or no favorable effect on the Mennonite students' attitudes, as a result of their daily contacts with colleagues or teachers from other backgrounds. The students' attitudes appear to be more closely associated with those of their parents than with their school experience, because most of those from Vila Guaíra also had attended the Boqueirão school.

The Escola Fritz Kliewer in Witmarsum, Paraná, was established in 1953.[26] At present it has a two-year pre-primary program, a four-year primary course, and a four-year normal school of ginásio level. This latter program, which was begun in 1960, is accredited to train teachers for rural schools in Paraná. Its main purpose is to provide personnel for the lower grades in Witmarsum, but most of its graduates are continuing their education in institutions of colégio level in Curitiba. The enrollment in Witmarsum has increased slowly (from 103 in 1953 to 143 in 1964), reflecting the growth of population in the colony. Very few students are from non-Mennonite homes; and most of these are children of the few families whose fathers are laborers in the creamery and mill of the colony cooperative. Occasionally Mennonite families sponsor children from a neighboring colony of German-speaking people whose level of living is very inferior to that of the inhabitants of Witmarsum. The most noteworthy feature of the school in this colony

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[25] The percentages of students with favorable scores, by community, are: Boqueirão, 51; Witmarsum, 57; and Vila Guaíra, 59.

[26] Data for this school were secured from Peter Pauls, Jr., Director, Escola Fritz Kliewer, Witmarsum, Paraná.

is the two-year, pre-primary course (Vorschule). The children aged six to eight are given a proficiency in both High German and Portuguese during this period. Although some other courses also are given, the principal purpose is to prepare the child to participate in the bi-cultural world of the school and of the Paraná environment. This program is evidence of the serious effort which the inhabitants of this relatively isolated and closed Mennonite community are making to develop a cultural pluralism in the younger generation.

There is a strong tendency for the teachers to use German in the classroom, and a large part of the library holdings consist of books in that language. The explicit purpose of the school is to expose the students to both Brazilian and German culture, and the Brazilian authorities appear to approve of this position.[27] This willingness to adopt a new culture while holding to the old, even in the most conservative Mennonite community in Brazil, is evidence of a very important change in attitude by many of the parents who once resisted the adoption of non-Mennonite traits.

The Mennonites in Vila Guaíra never established a private school. Most of the children from this community attend the one in Boqueirão, although a few attend state schools in the city. This is especially common among families in which the parents are not members of the church. It is an evidence of increasing secularization in the urban community.

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[27] On the occasion of the graduation ceremonies of the normal school, December 12, 1964, the present writer heard both the prefeito and the state inspector of schools encourage the students to preserve the good from their cultural background, while accepting the good of the Brazilian one as well.

In 1952 the inhabitants of Guarituba began a private school, but the small group was unable to maintain it as a Mennonite organization, and in 1960 it had an outside teacher.[28] In that year it was reorganized and 75 per cent of the students were from Mennonite families; but in 1965 the proportion had dropped to 38 per cent. This decline is a reflection of the disintegration of the Mennonite community in Guarituba.

Change in the Educational System

As already indicated, the most important change in the educational system has been the approval of the school as the principal agency for the development of cultural pluralism in Mennonite society. Even the most conservative peasant in Witmarsum appears to approve of this new role.[29] This approval probably is due to at least the following factors: (1) the unhappy consequences of the Brazilian nationalization program during World War II when the Mennonites' German-language schools were taken away from them; (2) the requirements of a knowledge and facility in things Brazilian for most of the Mennonites after their arrival in Paraná; and (3) the general approval of cultural pluralism in Paraná, which has greatly reduced intergroup tensions, and appears to be achieving more assimilation of immigrant groups in the national society than was ever accomplished by the nationalization program.

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[28] See Ens and Reimer (eds.), Jahrbuch, 1961, p. 127.

[29] One farmer in Witmarsum told the present writer, "I will never master Portuguese, but I enjoy having my son read to me from the Portuguese-language agricultural magazine I get. Our school has taught all our children to read and write the national language, and I am happy about that."

The other important change has been a more favorable parental attitude toward higher education. Many of the young men who have graduated from Brazilian universities continue to serve their own group as teachers. This has reduced greatly the fear that higher education would take the youth away from their own society. The number of Mennonite students in schools of college and university level is proportionately higher in Brazil than that in any other Latin American country where their brethren live.[30] A trend toward higher levels of educational attainment in the younger age groups is approved by most adults. (See Chapter IV.) Table XIV presents additional data which support the suggestion that parents (especially in Boqueirão and Vila Guaíra) approve of increased amounts of formal schooling for their children.

Table XIV. The Percentages of Students among Persons Aged 14-19 in Four Paraná Mennonite Communities, by Sex, 1965

Community	Males	Females
Witmarsum	37	46
Guarituba	46	11
Boqueirão	75	67
Vila Guaíra	65	45

[30] See Adolf Ens, "The Mennonite Student around the World," Mennonite Life, XX, 2 (April, 1965), 74-77.

A further indication of the favorable attitude which most parents now have toward higher education is the low proportion of heads of households (13 per cent) who stated that the ginásio was sufficient training for boys. In Witmarsum, however, 44 per cent of the respondents considered ginásio to be enough schooling for girls. In Boqueirão and Vila Guaíra, more than a third of those interviewed (39 and 37 per cent, respectively) reported that they desire to have their children attend the university--both boys and girls. The remainder of the respondents said they wished their sons and daughters to get "as much schooling as possible," or "enough to get a good job, such as a technician or nurse." This new permissiveness concerning higher education is accompanying the rise in the number of students who attend schools of college or university level. Half of all students aged 14-19 are enrolled in courses above the ginásio level. It appears that the Mennonite schools have prepared the students to perform competently in higher education, and have convinced the parents that the acquisition of more specialized training is both necessary and desirable.[31]

As more young people acquire greater amounts of education, the problem of their placement within Mennonite society will increase. Until recently the schools have not had a sufficient number of qualified Mennonite teachers. This situation is changing rapidly, however, and several community, religious, and educational leaders noted that soon there will be more trained teachers than their own school system can

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[31] One teacher told the present writer, "The good record of our students, and their contributions to our own communities, are helping to change the attitudes of the more conservative parents concerning the value and worth of higher education."

absorb. Many conservative parents have believed that highly trained youth would leave their home communities; it now appears that this may materialize in the near future. This is especially true for Witmarsum, but also applies to the other communities. It is probable that an increasing number of university graduates will move to other areas where their skills will command higher wages. Thus, it is likely that increased higher education will involve some disadvantages for Mennonite society in Paraná.

Mennonite Governmental Systems

The traditional system of local government of the Russian Mennonites was one of the legal conditions of settlement imposed on them by the Russian authorities, and its form was elaborated in later governmental decrees.[32] The system came to be an integral part of the colony administration, and those who migrated to Canada during the 1870's attempted to transplant intact their pattern of local government.[33] The male heads of households were members of the village assembly, whose activities were administered by the elected magistrate (Schulze). This official came to have broad powers of control over the daily lives of the villagers. Representatives of each village composed the colony-wide assembly whose officers were the colony superintendent or president (Oberschulze) and his assistants (Beisitzer). By means of this system the life of the colony was carefully regulated, and individual members

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[32]See, for example, Cornelius Krahn, "Government of Mennonites in Russia," in The Mennonite Encyclopedia, Harold S. Bender et al. (eds.) (4 vols.; Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955-1959), II, 556-557.

[33]See E.K. Francis, In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), p. 84.

were obliged to conform to the decisions of the assemblies and of their officials. Taxes were levied, and assessments for schools, churches, and roads were determined and divided; the officers had the right to require a certain amount of statute labor from each family for village and colony projects, and to punish uncooperative persons or those who misbehaved. Frequently the officers became authoritarian leaders, although the assemblies technically had the power of checking overzealous magistrates and superintendents. The village magistrate served without remuneration, and the colony superintendent received only a token salary. The latter official exercised the functions of mayor, tax collector, judge, and chief of police, and with the approval of the Russian authorities he could give sentences involving corporal punishment. He and his assistants were the court of second instance in civil cases.[34] This "Oberschulze System" was officially adopted by the Mennonite refugees who settled in Fernheim, Paraguay, in 1930, and is a feature of all the Mennonite colonies in that country.[35]

As noted in Chapter II, the system of local government in the Mennonite colonies in Santa Catarina was a modification of that found in the closed communities of the Russian Mennonites. In Brazil the village and colony assemblies, and their elected officers, had no legal privileges of local civil autonomy, which greatly weakened their authority. In addition, the establishment of a colony-wide cooperative association whose membership was the same as that of the assemblies, created dual

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[34]See Krahn, op. cit., p. 557.

[35]See Hack, op. cit., p. 142.

organizations whose activities often overlapped. This situation finally produced a fusion of activities and power, and although the two organizations technically remained separate, they came to function as a "Community-Cooperative Organization." This development gave great authority and power to the colony president (called Siedlungsleiter in Brazil), and about half of the colonists became dissatisfied with the arrangement. The attempt to transplant the traditional, authoritarian system of local government in the Mennonite colonies in Santa Catarina was only partially successful, and the arrangement became increasingly ineffective during the 1940's. The two most important factors in this decline in local self-government appear to be: (1) the lack of civil autonomy, without which the leaders could not require everyone to cooperate with the decisions of the majority; and (2) the presence of a growing minority in the colony who wished to discard the group-oriented system for a democratic, individualistic one. Such persons wished to make their own decisions in private life and to utilize Brazilian institutions for the resolution of legal and civil problems. This position was considered revolutionary by the more conservative members of the group.

Self-Government in the Paraná Mennonite Communities

The disagreements and conflicts on the problem of local governmental organization, which characterized the Mennonite colonies in Santa Catarina, appear to have caused the families who moved to Curitiba to avoid the arrangement entirely. They came as individual families, and did not wish to have a group-oriented community organization. The members

of the three Mennonite settlements in and around Curitiba never established any system of community government, which was such a prominent feature of their social organization in Russia, and continues to be so among their coreligionists elsewhere in Latin America. The cooperative association formed by the Mennonites in Boqueirão in 1937 has functions which are broader than those usually associated with such organizations (see Chapter VII), but it has not become a functional substitute for the traditional governmental institutions. The school and the churches have accepted some of the responsibilities customarily associated with the colony government (youth activities, and resolution of differences between members of the group), but its regulatory functions have passed to the respective agencies of the Brazilian government.

Many of the older members of these communities told the present writer that they would prefer to solve their own problems and direct their own communities, but they recognize that this is impossible in a democratic country where individual rights are protected by the law and where minority groups are not granted special legal privileges. In addition, many admitted that their traditional system tended to produce a dictatorial leadership which is incongruous with the ideals of a 20th-century democracy. Finally, such a system of local government is closely related to an effective arrangement of group-oriented work exchange and the management of communal lands. The lack of these conditions and their irrelevance in an urban or rurban situation, plus the settlers' desire for individual freedom, probably are the reasons why the traditional system of local government was not established in the early Mennonite settlements in Paraná.

Witmarsum, of course, was quite different. The inhabitants of this colony are the persons who wished to maintain their "Community-Cooperative Organization" in Santa Catarina. When this became impossible (see Chapter II), they bought land in Paraná, and established a closed, Mennonite colony reminiscent of the ones in Russia before 1870, in which no one held an individual title to his land. (See Chapter VI.) The colony officials and the executive committee of the cooperative were the same persons, and the division between the two organizations was a theoretical one. Local self-government was now attempted through the organization of the cooperative, in which all heads of households were members. The village assemblies were very important from 1951 to 1959 because they were responsible for the management of the communal lands, and for the maintenance of the roads in their respective subdivisions of the colony.

From 1953 to 1959 a small group of persons sought to secure individual titles for their land, and in the process involved the members of the colony in a series of conflicts related to the cooperative, the school, and the churches. This unhappy history is an eloquent demonstration of the inability of the Mennonites to maintain their traditional system of local government in Brazil. In September, 1959, the decision was made to divide the communal lands and to grant individual titles to all owners.[36] Since that time the roles of the village assemblies and the village magistrates (Dorfschulzen) have become very insignificant, and Witmarsum no longer has a colony president. The cooperative now

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[36]See the Minutes of the General Assembly, September 25, 1959, Cooperativa Mista Agro-Pecuária Witmarsum, Ltda., Witmarsum, Paraná (in the files of the Cooperative).

functions as though it were the colony government, and consequently there is no need to continue to elect a Siedlungsleiter. The cooperative is responsible for some of the activities once considered the domain of the governmental system, such as the maintenance of the roads, school, and hospital. But even in Witmarsum, Mennonites now must take all legal and civil cases to the respective Brazilian authorities.[37] Although most of the inhabitants of the colony might prefer to retain some of their traditional forms of local government, a minority of persons who desire individual freedom has been able to force far-reaching changes because of Brazilian law which supports the individual. The dissolution of the traditional governmental system in Witmarsum is one of the clearest examples of the change from group-dominated to individualistic values and patterns of behavior in the social organization of the Paraná Mennonites.[38]

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[37]The present writer asked the president of the cooperative how a dispute about boundary lines between two Mennonite farmers would be dealt with at the present time in the colony. He was told that if the two men, or their friends, could not find an amicable settlement, there was no longer an institutionalized way to deal with them within the group itself. Such a case would have to be taken to the prefeito of the município. A copy of the law on this point is posted in the office of the cooperative. Such a state of affairs is nothing less than spectacular in a colony of Russian Mennonites in Latin America.

[38]Several leaders of the opposition group in Witmarsum told the present writer that they insist on their right to think for themselves, make their own decisions, and manage their own affairs. During the period from March, 1964, to July, 1965, about 20 per cent of the members of the cooperative withdrew from it and now ship their milk to Curitiba on an individual basis. (This was made possible by joining the milk producers' cooperative in Curitiba.)

Political Participation

A large portion of adults in the study population are foreign-born, of whom many continue to be stateless, or have acquired German or Paraguayan citizenship. (See Chapter IV.) Of the 20 per cent sample of heads of households, 57 per cent are in the above categories, and do not vote in Brazil. Seventy-three per cent of those eligible to vote participated in recent municipal, state, and national elections. More than two-thirds (69 per cent) of these claimed to have voted for the Christian Democratic Party, which was the favorite one in all the Mennonite communities except Guarituba, where the Social Democratic Party predominated. The respondents, as is true of most Brazilians, vote in terms of particular individuals. In reply to the question, "Which party did you vote for in the last election?" they almost invariably named the candidate rather than the party.

Throughout their history, Mennonites generally have avoided participation in politics. In Brazil, however, the leaders of the colonies quickly learned the importance of making friends of local political and governmental authorities. The present writer frequently observed formal leaders, especially officers of the cooperatives, engage in animated conversations with Brazilian officials. It appears that Mennonite leaders have been quite successful in gaining the confidence and appreciation of local governmental authorities. For the average member of the study group, however, participation in politics is considered inappropriate. Numerous respondents noted that they vote simply to meet the requirements of the law. The present writer is aware of only one instance of a

Mennonite candidate for political office in Paraná. A well-known member of the Witmarsum colony sought election in 1963 as a vereador (county councilman), but he reportedly was not able to win a majority of the votes even in Witmarsum. In addition to the differences of opinion about the candidate (including his position and policies), it appears that many Mennonites felt that one of them should not seek political office.

In Witmarsum many persons are willing to vote according to the suggestions of leaders whose opinions they respect.[39] Some of the younger men in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão take a much greater interest in politics, but at present they are not active in political organizations. Mennonites' spare time is invested in activities related to their own society, whereas politics continue to be considered a part of the outside world.

Summary

This chapter focused on selected aspects of three social systems in Paraná Mennonite society in which observable change is taking place. Changes in marriage and family patterns indicate the growing importance of individualistic values, norms, and patterns of behavior. An important factor in the process of sociocultural change in the group under consideration is the increased parental approval of higher education for Mennonite youth; this approval is itself one of the significant innovations in the belief patterns of this social system. Also, the Mennonite

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[39] In response to a question on the possible choice for governor in the elections of October, 1965, one housewife told the present writer, "There are still three months until elections; when the time comes, our

school now has the approved role of making youth bicultural, so that they may participate with a minimum of conflict in Mennonite and Brazilian societies. The dissolution of the traditional system of local government in the Paraná communities is one of the clearest evidences of the trend from an authoritarian, group-oriented social organization to one which is more democratic and individualistic. Much change already has taken place in these social systems; it appears likely that these developments have set the stage for even greater innovations in the near future as this immigrant group which was once isolated geographically and socially from the larger society now begins to interact with it in an increasing variety of ways.

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cooperative president, who keeps himself informed on such things, will make recommendations and my husband and I will vote as he [the president] suggests." Interview, June, 1965.

CHAPTER IX

THE MENNONITE RELIGIOUS SYSTEM

An accurate analysis of Mennonite religious behavior and institutions requires a perspective in which religious beliefs, knowledge, organization, influence, and patterned behavior are interrelated with each other, and with other features of Mennonite society and culture. This integrated, complex pattern is properly considered to be a social system. The religious system is probably the focal one in Mennonite society and culture, because almost all areas of life are consciously related to religious beliefs or values. An indication of the religiosity of the Mennonites in Paraná is the frequency distribution of the scores of a Religion Scale administered to a 20 per cent proportional sample of the heads of households (hereafter referred to as parents) and about 90 per cent of all the Mennonite students attending non-Mennonite schools. Figure 4 indicates that both students and parents score high on the "favorable" half of the scale. Even the nonmembers are generally favorable to organized religion. Only nine persons in a total of 173 scored as low as the midpoint of the scale, which may be termed the "point of indifference."

The Centrality of the Religious System

Mennonites, when asked to describe their main characteristics, almost invariably begin by emphasizing the religious nature of their

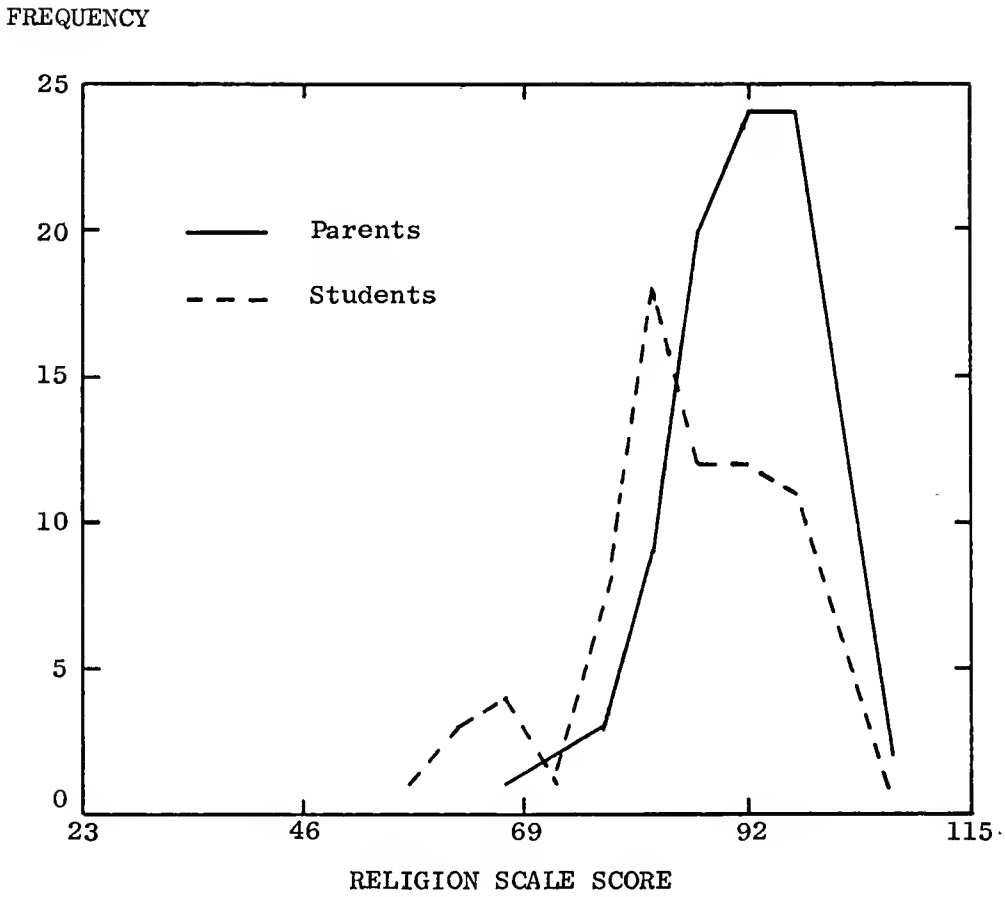

Figure 4. Frequency Distribution of Paraná Mennonite Religion Scale Scores, 1965.

society. In a series of interviews-in-depth with church, educational, and community leaders, the answers to the question, "Who are the Mennonites?" always emphasized their religious origins and orientation. One community leader who is not a church member, noted that the Mennonites owe their continued existence to their particular religious faith and its resultant culture, as developed in the early Mennonite communities of the Vistula River Delta (1550-1790) and Russia (1790-1929).[1] During the interviews with the parents, the investigator noted that most of the respondents sought to reply to novel items in the schedule in terms of some Biblical passage, whether or not the item had anything to do with religious concepts. Frequently the response was, "Well, Jesus said . . ." or "Did not Paul say . . . ?" When Mennonites are confronted with new or hypothetical situations, their basic Biblicism stands out.

The most frequent explanation of Mennonite customs and mores, as well as role-expectations for husbands, wives, and children, is one related to Biblical teaching. On one occasion, in the convocation at a Mennonite Bible Institute, the present writer commented that almost always, when a Mennonite female marries a male from a sister Mennonite denomination, she will join the church of her husband. The instant reply of one of the listeners was, "That is Biblical." This was a completely adequate reply for all present. Indeed, one of the famous phrases of the early Mennonites was, "Show it to us in the Bible, and we will do it." Although one can easily find exceptions to the intensely religious

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[1] For a popular presentation of Mennonite history, see C. Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites (4th ed. rev. by Cornelius Krahn; Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publication Office, 1957).

Mennonite, such persons are considered unfortunate deviants by the great majority of the members of Mennonite society.

The religious orientation extends into the economic activities of the Mennonites, especially their traditional occupation of farming. The land is viewed not merely as a factor of production, but "as a divine gift, to be cared for by faithful Christian stewards. Traditionally there has been in our blood an intimate identification with the soil, and a love for agriculture."[2] This "steward relationship" is based on religious grounds, and its economic implications are many. The great improvement of the soil, which has always been accomplished where Mennonites have settled, may be traced to their desire to care properly for God's gift.

The all-pervasive character of the Mennonite religious orientation also may be seen in their community-wide activities. Most of these are sponsored by the church, including social and recreational programs for children and youth (earlier these were organized by the community officials), music festivals, picnics and excursions. When the activities are not directly sponsored by the church, as in the case of educational affairs, religion is still prominently present. Each school day begins with devotions, there are classes in Bible study, and public programs are opened with prayer and the congregational singing of a hymn. These meetings also include a brief devotional presentation. It is not unusual to see speakers using a Bible to support their notes in many types of public assemblies. School choruses usually present both religious and

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[2]Letter to the present writer from Peter Pauls, Jr., minister and school principal, Witmarsum, Paraná, September 15, 1965.

secular offerings. It is unusual to find anyone, even among those who are not church members, who protests against the mixture of religion in educational affairs.

A further evidence of the religiosity of the members of this group is found in their response to a question concerning church attendance and the practice of daily prayer. Among the parents interviewed, 85 per cent attend church weekly; and 90 per cent of the students do so. Of the parents, 97 per cent pray daily, whereas 88 per cent of the students do so. Over three-fourths (77 per cent) of the parents have regular family devotions in their homes. As might be expected, the homes where family devotions are not observed are usually those of persons who are not church members.

Religious Organization in Paraná

There are two principal Mennonite denominations in Brazil. The one with the largest membership is called the Mennonite Brethren Church. It originated in Russia in 1860 as a revivalistic movement in the colonies in the Ukraine. Although this denomination was a minority of the Mennonites in Russia, and continues to be so in North America, it has been the predominant body in Brazil.[3]

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[3]For a history of the Mennonite Brethren Church, see A.H. Unruh, Die Geschichte der Mennoniten-Bruedergemeinde, 1860-1954 (Hillsboro, Kansas: The General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, 1955). A brief account is found in J.H. Lohrenz, "Mennonite Brethren Church," in The Mennonite Encyclopedia, Harold S. Bender et al. (eds.) (4 vols.; Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955-1959), III, 595-602.

The Mennonite Church is the traditional religious body of the Russian Mennonites. Inasmuch as this group is about half the size of the other denomination, and suffered a paucity of ordained leaders during the early years in Brazil, it has always played a secondary role in the organized religious affairs of the various communities. In comparison with the Mennonite Brethren Church, this denomination is more traditional and formal in its beliefs and practices.[4]

A third denomination, which consists of one congregation in Witmarsum, is known as the Free Evangelical Mennonite Church. This body has sought to avoid the conflicts which have taken place regularly between the two principal denominations. Its historical roots are found in small groups with a similar purpose which were formed in Russia in 1905 and 1907.[5] The group has cooperated closely with the Mennonite Church in Witmarsum, and they hold almost all their meetings together. Since 1947 both of them are members of the General Conference Mennonite Church (Newton, Kansas) and when taken together in this study will be called the General Conference Church. In Witmarsum these two bodies now form a majority, because the colonists who left Witmarsum, Santa Catarina, and moved to Rio Grande do Sul (half of the entire group) were Mennonite Brethren.[6]

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[4]The best-known history of the Mennonite Church in Russia is that by P.M. Friesen, Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruederschaft in Russland (1789-1910) in Rahmen der mennonitischen Gesamtgeschichte (Halbstadt, Ukraine: Verlagsgesellschaft Raduga, 1911).

[5]See "Allianz-Gemeinden," Mennonite Encyclopedia, I, 62, and "Evangelische Mennoniten-Gemeinden," Mennonite Encyclopedia, II, 268.

[6]A Mennonite Brethren congregation was formed in Witmarsum in 1958. Before that time most of the persons who joined the new congregation were members of the Free Evangelical Mennonite Church. In Santa Catarina, however, most of these same persons had been Mennonite Brethren.

Congregational Organization

All three denominations have similar internal organizations. Church government is congregational, with final authority for decision making residing in the Members' Assembly (Gemeindestunde). The Assembly consists of all baptized members of the congregation, and thus is not the same as the Bruderschaft which met in Russia to treat of the congregation's problems. The latter group was composed entirely of male members. Inasmuch as all the denominations in Brazil worshiped together on Sunday (for many years in the school buildings), separate assemblies were held for the members of the three bodies. The meetings were held monthly to permit the consideration of business and to celebrate the Lord's Supper. The General Conference congregations, and some of those of the Mennonite Brethren Church, continue to hold monthly assemblies. Inasmuch as a few congregations of the latter body have Communion services during other regular meetings, their assemblies are not held on a regular basis any more.

The Church Council (Gemeindevorstand) is the executive committee of the congregation, and consists principally of ordained leaders. The council is responsible for the general administrative activities of the local body; it considers and debates the problems and plans of the congregation, and makes recommendations to the assembly. The work of the local church is coordinated by an elected official called the Gemeindeleiter. He is the legal representative of the congregation, and is, with few exceptions, an ordained minister.[7]

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[7]The above description applies in general to all the churches. Minor variations are found between the denominations, and even by

The church officials are three in number: (1) Elder (Aeltester); (2) Preacher (Prediger); and (3) Deacon (Diakon). In Brazil the Mennonite Brethren have discontinued the ordination of elders, and the Gemeindeleiter has assumed many of the former official's responsibilities. There are two elders in the General Conference Churches of Paraná, one for the Curitiba area and one for Witmarsum. These men are ordained for life, and are selected from among the preachers. The other two officials first are elected for stated periods of time; if they serve acceptably, later on they are approved for ordination by a vote of the congregation. Although the elder, or a supervisory minister, is considered as the head of the congregation, all the officials participate in what may be called a plural ministry, which has been practiced ever since the founding of the Mennonite Church.

Traditionally the elder has been the equivalent of a bishop, whose opinions both in the Church Council and the Assembly were seldom challenged. In recent years he is no longer viewed as the ultimate authority; indeed, in Brazil the Mennonite Brethren and Free Evangelical Mennonite churches have not ordained any elders. Although the Mennonite Church has two elders, these men consider their positions more as those of supervisory ministers, rather than those of authoritarian bishops. The

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congregation within each body. It is noteworthy that the Mennonites in Paraná never refer to their denominations or congregations as "churches." They always use the term "fellowship" (Gemeinde in German, and, interestingly, communidade in Portuguese). "Church" is reserved for liturgical denominations, or for the building itself. The official names of the three denominations are: Mennoniten-Brueder Gemeinde, Mennoniten Gemeinde, and Freie Evangelische Mennoniten Gemeinde. See Henrique Ens and Gustav E. Reimer (eds.), Jahrbuch der Mennoniten in Suedamerika, 1961 (Curitiba: Tipografia Santa Cruz, Ltda., 1961), pp. 150-151.

preachers assist the elders or supervisory ministers in their responsibilities; and the deacons are responsible for the financial program of the congregation, as well as the care of widows, orphans, or other needy members.

A professional ministry does not yet exist among the Mennonites in Paraná. Traditionally all church officials have been expected to support themselves by means of nonreligious occupations. The "teacher-preacher" in the Bible Schools may be the beginning of a salaried ministry, but at present these men are paid for their teaching, rather than for their spiritual ministry. No specific academic requirements exist for any of the church officials; and since they must support themselves, they are usually chosen from the ranks of successful farmers or businessmen. Such a situation leads to the practice of a plural ministry. Two of its advantages are: (1) more members are involved in the leadership of the church; and (2) the lack of a professional ministry tends to reduce to a minimum any gap between the leaders and the members. But there are some definite disadvantages as well. Such a system encourages conflicts among the several leaders, and it tends to permit a mediocrity in the quality of some of the work of such part-time officials. The fact that these men are the older, successful businessmen and farmers suggests that the leadership may tend to be unduly conservative; this aggravates the cleavage between the church and the youth of the group--a problem of considerable significance for this immigrant group which has just entered the "second-generation stage" of its Brazilian residence.

Conference Affiliations

The Mennonite Brethren and General Conference congregations are loosely joined into two conferences. The organization of both denominations is similar, although that of the Mennonite Brethren Church is more developed. In addition to relationships with other churches in Paraguay and Uruguay, both denominations maintain formal ties with their respective North American brethren. The affiliations with North American bodies have resulted in a considerable amount of northern influence in the religious education of the Brazilian Mennonites. Sunday School and Bible School materials come from the United States, and both bodies have received substantial financial aid for the construction of church buildings and other special projects. Although most of the financial aid, as well as fraternal workers, come from North America, the Brazilian Mennonites appear to be tied more closely to the evangelical movement in Germany, to which they look for spiritual and cultural inspiration. This observation is less true of the Mennonite Brethren Church, whose fundamentalistic orientation is more compatible with North American Mennonitism than is that of the General Conference Church.

As the Mennonites in North America lose their ability to speak German, and as more of their publications are in English, or are distinctly North American in perspective, the problem of communication between the two groups probably will become more acute. This divided cultural loyalty creates tensions and misunderstandings between the Mennonites of North and South America. Also, the giver-receiver relationship

appears to make the Brazilian Mennonites defensive in their contacts with their brethren in the north.[8]

The organization of the Mennonite Brethren Church is presented in Figure 5; and that of the General Conference Mennonite Church in Figure 6. The official membership data for each congregation (as of January, 1965) are included in parentheses.[9] Before 1958 the two denominations held weekly services together; since that time the Mennonite Brethren have constructed separate church buildings. Only in Boqueirão do the two bodies continue to hold their weekly public service together, and this arrangement probably will terminate within a few years. Both bodies participate in South American Conferences of their respective denominations, along with churches in Paraguay and Uruguay.

Mennonite Belief Patterns

The Mennonite denominations in Paraná share very similar theological viewpoints. Interviews with leaders of all three denominations revealed a common consciousness of their Anabaptist origins, and a special appreciation for the teachings of Menno Simons, one of the most important leaders of the Evangelical Anabaptist movement in the Low Countries in

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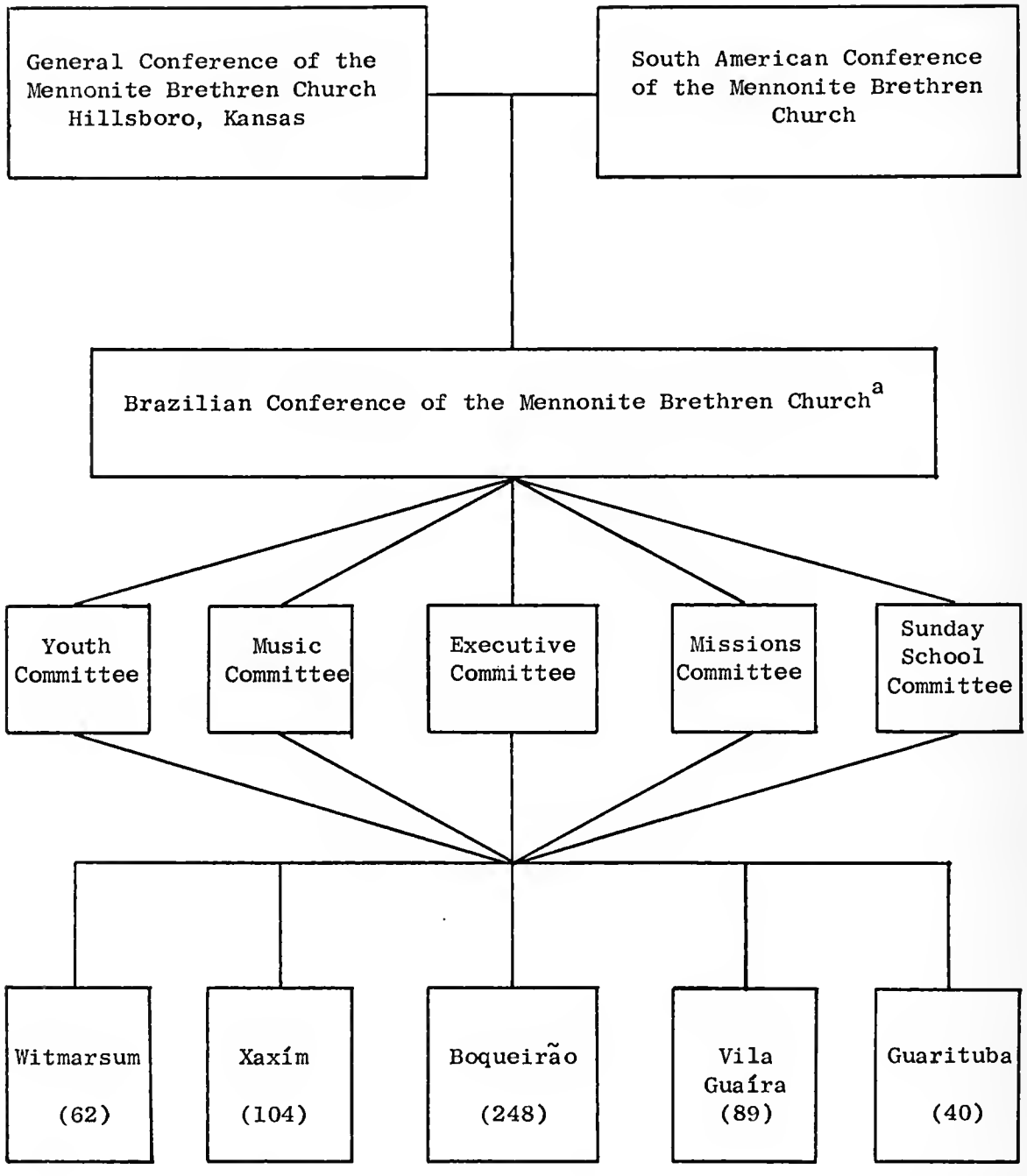
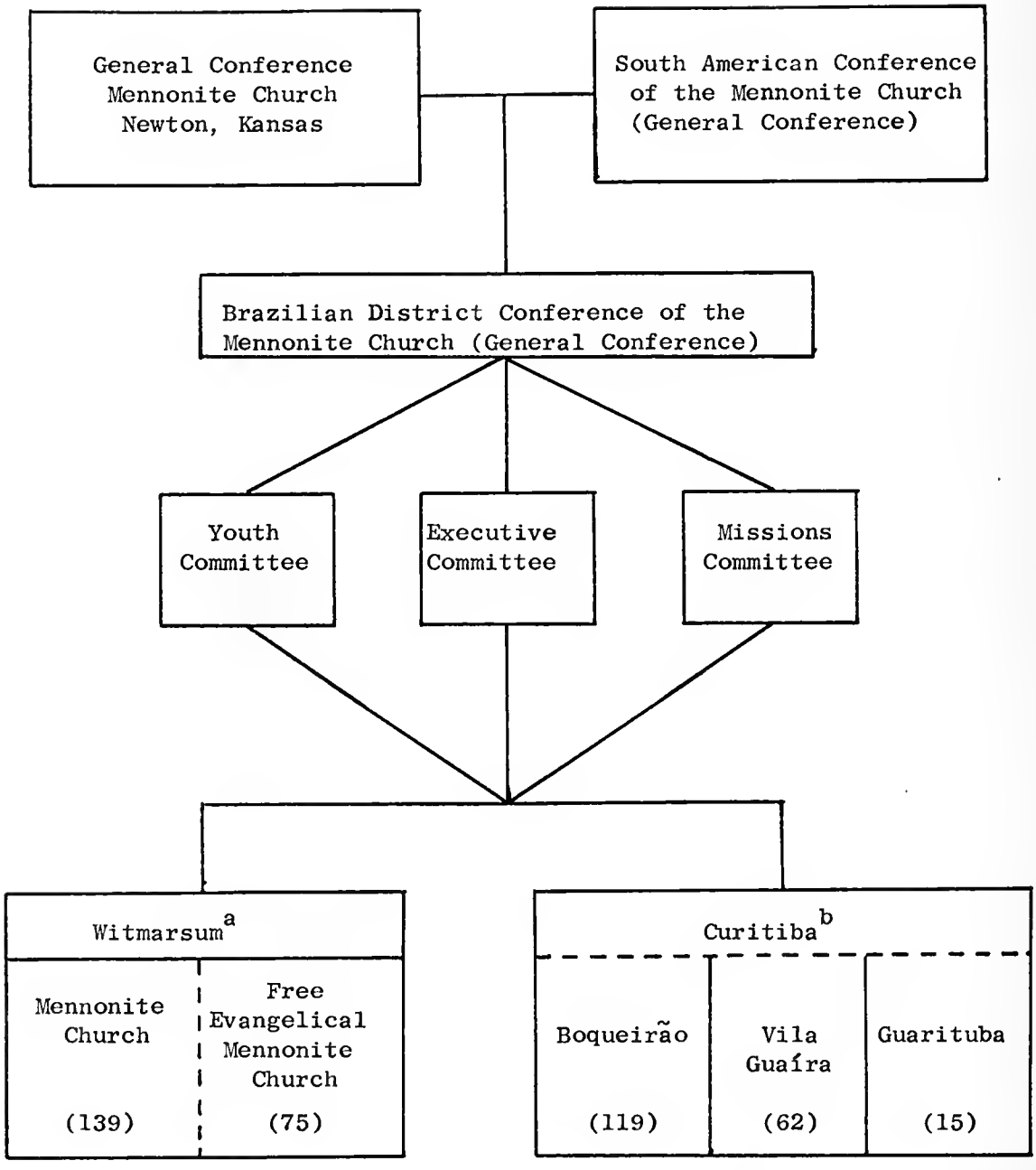
[8]The publications from North America often have illustrations, or other features, which are incongruous in Brazil. For example, the adult Sunday School materials used by the Mennonite Brethren have the scripture lesson in German and English in parallel columns.

[9]The data for the Mennonite Brethren Church were compiled from the minutes of the Fifth Annual Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church, held in Bagé, Rio Grande do Sul, January, 1965; those for the General Conference Church were secured from officials of the congregations.



[a] In addition to the congregations in Paraná, this conference consists of others in Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and the city of São Paulo (total membership outside Paraná: 411).

Figure 5. Organization of the Mennonite Brethren Church in Paraná, and Official Membership Data (January, 1965).



[a]A union church; denominational identity is maintained by internal organization (Church Council, and Members' Assembly). Officials of both denominations form a joint Commission for Church Affairs.

[b]A single internal organization, but each congregation meets separately (Guarituba disbanded in July, 1965).

Figure 6. Organization of the General Conference Mennonite Church in Paraná, and Official Membership Data (January, 1965).

the sixteenth century.[10] All three denominations emphasize the importance of a personal commitment to their beliefs, which may be described as "evangelical conservatism," including an acceptance of the traditional Christian theological positions, a strict belief in the inspiration of the Bible, an emphasis on personal dedication and daily discipleship, the necessity of a simple life unencumbered by the fads and fashions of "the world," and a Christian expression which demonstrates the love of Christ in daily living. Probably most Mennonites would agree with the description given by a Mennonite seminary professor, who quoted a fellow Mennonite's characterization of the group in terms of their understanding of the Church: it is a Bible-centered brotherhood of dedicated disciples, a sanctified, serving, nonresistant, and witnessing church.[11]

Although all three denominations have beliefs and organizations which are very similar, there is a distinct difference between the two principal ones in terms of rules and regulations. When compared with the Mennonite Church, the Mennonite Brethren Church has a greater emphasis on evangelistic activity, on the necessity of the "New Birth," immersion as the proper mode of baptism, and numerous fundamentalistic taboos (no smoking, drinking, dancing, card playing,,or participation in worldly recreation). Although the Free Evangelical Mennonite Church has

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[10] It is very important to differentiate between the evangelical Anabaptists, whose spiritual descendents include the Mennonites, Amish, and Baptists, from Anabaptists such as the Muensterites, who sought to usher in the Kingdom of God through violence in Muenster, Germany, in 1534. See "Muenster Anabaptists," Mennonite Encyclopedia, III, 777-782.

[11] Paul M. Miller, "What Mennonites Believe," Gospel Herald, LVIII, 35 (September 7, 1965), 787. See also the classic statement of Harold S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XVIII, 2 (April, 1944), 67-88.

requirements which are similar to the Mennonite Brethren, its long association with the Mennonite Church has caused its leaders to take a tolerant view concerning the numerous taboos mentioned above.

Religious Activities

The regular meetings of the churches may be classified in terms of their frequency of occurrence. These range from weekly services to annual or biennial conferences. The principal purpose of this description is to note the changes which have taken place in the religious activities during the past 35 years.

Weekly Activities

The weekly services in all the churches include Sunday morning worship, Sunday School, youth meetings, and choir practice. Some of the churches also have midweek meetings devoted to Bible study and prayer periods. The most significant change in these meetings is that the two principal denominations now hold most of their weekly services in separate sanctuaries, a trend which was initiated by the Mennonite Brethren. The separation, and the construction of denominational temples, have been made possible by the recent economic prosperity of the group, as well as by financial aid and encouragement from North America. It is justified on the grounds that the Mennonite Brethren find it difficult to maintain their rules and regulations when they worship with a denomination which permits its members to engage in activities which are taboo in the former group.[12]

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[12]Several Mennonite Brethren ministers told the present writer that it is easier to have fellowship with the fine Christians in the Mennonite

There is a trend toward the participation of adults in the Sunday School, especially in the Mennonite Brethren Church. Traditionally this educational activity was limited almost exclusively to children. It appears that the Mennonite Church also is succeeding in attracting larger numbers of adults into the Sunday School, where the opportunity for spontaneous discussion has brought a new experience to many of the members.

A third change is the great increase in youth activities which are sponsored by the churches. In Santa Catarina, much of the youth work was supervised by the community organization. When this system was abandoned in Paraná, the churches developed youth programs. Inasmuch as the leaders do not permit some of the traditional social activities of the young people, such as folk dancing, this change has alienated some of the young males from the young people's groups. In addition, it has introduced a denominational cleavage into many types of activities which once helped to encourage a sense of unity and cohesion within the community.[13]

Church if they don't try to worship together. The presence of members in the joint congregation who smoke, or engage in other activities forbidden to those of the Mennonite Brethren Church, made it very difficult to maitain discipline among some of the young males in the latter denomination.

[13]Numerous persons told the present writer that this development was a "mixed blessing." Although they were pleased to have more church-related activities for the young people, they observed the divisive tendency inherent in the trend. In addition, as one man said, "Many of the leaders insist on having a program that is practically another church service. This drives away the young men who most need to be involved in wholesome recreational activities in a Mennonite group. Such fellows now go to town for much of their diversion."

Semimonthly and monthly activities

Most of the Women's Society meetings are held fortnightly. These meetings involve sewing for needy persons in the area, especially non-Mennonites, the planning and execution of missionary projects, special speakers, discussions on topics of interest to homemakers and mothers, and, of course, religious meditation and prayers. Whereas the women from all the denominations once held joint meetings, they too are now separated. Many of these meetings are held in each neighborhood in Boqueirão and Witmarsum, and serve an important social function in increasing contacts with neighbors.

The monthly Members' Assemblies are still held in most of the congregations. Since most of the Union Churches no longer exist, the need for such separate meetings is reduced greatly. The Assembly is now principally a business meeting, and some congregations call them only when needed. The Lord's Supper is observed monthly by the Mennonite Brethren, either in the Members' Assembly, or in a special service. (The General Conference Mennonites observe Communion two or three times a year.)

Other Regular Activities

Baptisms usually are performed once each year, although they may take place whenever qualified candidates are ready. The traditional practice in the Mennonite Church of entering a Cathechists' Class upon attaining 18 to 20 years of age is no longer observed. The Free Evangelical Mennonites and the Mennonite Brethren baptize by immersion; whereas affusion is practiced by the Mennonites.

The special annual festivals and religious holidays observed by all the churches are reminiscent of the church calendar in Germany. The three most important holidays are Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. On each of these occasions the Mennonites celebrate two days, usually involving a morning worship service, followed by family reunions. Thus the basically religious holidays serve important social goals. Indeed, most of them are utilized for social visits, and especially for family reunions. Many of the special days involve afternoon meetings in the church, and include a noon meal and afternoon refreshments served in the congregation's social hall. Most of these activities show little change from the traditional pattern followed in Russia. (For a list of the special religious activities, see Table XV,) In the urban community, however, the requirements of business schedules have forced the churches in Curitiba to drop the second day of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and very few of the families are able to participate in reunions on these days.

Church-sponsored Educational Activities

Although Mennonites generally agree that education should be in the hands of religiously exemplary people, technically the schools in Paraná are not parochial institutions. In addition to Sunday Schools, the churches support and sponsor the following educational activities: vacation Bible Schools (a North American innovation only partially adopted at present); evening Bible Schools; and a Bible Institute of colégio level.

Table XV. Religious Festivals and Holidays of the Paraná Mennonites

Period of year	Religious activity
January-April	Week of Prayer
	MB[1] Annual Brazilian Conference
	International Youth Workshop (GC)[2]
	Women's Day (GC)
	Paraná Youth Retreat (GC)
	Biennial South American Conference (GC)
	Good Friday
	Easter (two days)
May-August	Mother's Day
	Pentecost (two days)
	Harvest Thanksgiving Service
	Annual District Conference (GC)
	Workshop for Sunday School and Church Workers (MB)
	Children's Day
	Religious Education Day (MB)
	Youth Day
September-December	Youth Retreat (MB)
	Music Festival (Saengerfest)
	Missionary Conference (MB)
	Thanksgiving Service for the Deliverance from Communist Russia (Nov. 25)
	Christmas (two days)
	St. Sylvester's Eve

[1]MB - Mennonite Brethren Church.
[2]GC - General Conference Mennonite Church: Mennonite Church and Free Evangelical Mennonite Church.

Since 1961 both the General Conference Mennonites and the Mennonite Brethren have had Bible Schools. In that year a day course was begun in Witmarsum, which became an evening school in 1963. The Evangelical Theological Institute (Mennonite Brethren)was transferred from Rio Grande do Sul to Curitiba in 1961 and in 1965 it offered five curricula (theology, general Bible, religious education, music, and a "special course") to 35 students. Until 1964 this school also offered courses to persons who had only a primary-school education. In 1965 this program was changed to an evening school with classes in Boqueirão.

The General Conference Church now has evening Bible Schools in Witmarsum, Vila Guaíra, and Boqueirão, and the courses are offered for three to four months a year in each congregation. The movement has enjoyed much success since its beginning in 1963, and is playing an important role in the systematic religious education of persons aged 16 to 63, including both members and nonmembers of the group, as well as a few persons from other denominations.

The evening Bible Schools of both Mennonite denominations seek to provide sound, biblical training for the average church member, a systematic study of church history, church doctrine, and missions, and an introduction to subjects such as child psychology and personal evangelism. An important function is the training of qualified Sunday School teachers for the congregations. The Bible-School curriculum obviously is not a substitute for the specialized seminary training of ministers; rather it seeks to aid the average church member to take a more active and useful part in the church program, and to enable him to

become a thoughtful participant in the planning and execution of church policy and activities.[14]

Table XVI presents the enrollment data for the Bible Schools and the Theological Institute. The five schools had a total enrollment of 153 students. It is noteworthy that in the General Conference schools there are more females than males, whereas the males predominate in the Mennonite Brethren schools. As expectod, the majority of the students are single persons, and most of them are members of the church. The mean age of the students in the Theological Institute is 24, whereas in the evening schools of the General Conference Church it is 30 years. The keen interest displayed in these schools by the younger members of the church also is noteworthy. Although many of them rise between 4:30 and 5:00 a.m., they still find time to attend the evening classes.

The effect of the Bible Schools, although difficult to measure, appears to be substantial. Many of the younger persons are utilizing this opportunity to become better-prepared church members. In addition to the encouragement given to those who seek to learn, the schools offer facilities, and adjust schedules, to accommodate persons who can not attend a regular day-school program. Thus the school is being taken to the students. The present writer is convinced that these schools will become some of the most important stimuli to, and channels of, change in the religious beliefs, organization, and practices of the Paraná Mennonites, for an informed, younger generation can hardly be expected to tolerate a static, tradition-dominated religious situation.

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[14]See, for example, Jacob Isaak, "Unsere Bibelschule," Bibel und Pflug, XII, 14 (16. Juli, 1965), 2, and 15 (1. August, 1965), 2-3.

Table XVI. Enrollment in Paraná Mennonite Bible Schools, 1965

Classification	General Conference			Mennonite Brethren	
	Witmarsum evening school	Boqueirão evening school	Vila Guaíra evening school	Vila Guaíra Theological Institute	Boqueirão evening school
Total enrollment	27	35	25	32	34
Males	12	14	8	19	19
Females	15	21	17	13	15
Married	5	12	10	--[a]	7
Single	22	23	15	--[a]	27
Religious affiliation					
Mennonite, member	26	28	14	31	34
Mennonite, nonmember	1	7	5	--	--
Non-Mennonite, member	--	--	6	1	--

[a]Data not available

Source: Data secured from the directors of the schools: General Conference Church, Jacob Isaak; Mennonite Brethren Church, Franz Peters and Willy Janz.

Paraná Mennonite Religious Affiliation: A Demographic Analysis

As part of the Paraná Mennonite census conducted by the present writer, the religious affiliation of all persons in the population over 14 years of age was sought. Due to the Mennonite emphasis on "believers baptism," children are not members of the church. Traditionally Mennonites have tended "to join church" at an age similar to that considered proper for marriage (20-25). In recent decades there has been a trend toward baptism of persons 15 to 19 years of age, but the proportion of church members in this age group continues to be low.[15] The calculations were made, therefore, using a minimum age of 20 years in order to avoid giving an inaccurate picture of adult religious affiliation.

Nonmembers

The Paraná Mennonite population of persons 20 years of age and over includes a minimum of 1,216 persons, of whom 316, or 26 per cent, are members of no church.[16] This situation is unique among Mennonites, as far as the present writer knows. Although North American Mennonites lose considerable numbers of their youth, such persons usually enter other religious denominations and tend to drop out of Mennonite society. Among the Mennonites who continue to live in rural colonies, the percentage of

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[15] Of those aged 15-19, the percentages who are church members in each of the four communities are as follows: Witmarsum, 24; Guaritubá, 28; Boqueirão, 26; and Vila Guaíra, 13.

[16] After a year of residence in Paraná, the writer was aware of several families who qualified for inclusion in the census, but were omitted. There are at least three such families, involving six adults. In every case the head of the family did not participate in the regular Mennonite activities.

nonmembers is generally low.[17] But in Brazil, where the majority of the group no longer lives in closed colonies, the social and religious pressures are insufficient to require church membership; yet they remain strong enough to keep significant numbers of religiously dissatisfied persons from joining other churches. Such persons continue to be members in good standing in Mennonite society, and often they are among the most insistent on retaining the Low German dialect in the home. Not infrequently they also consider themselves better Christians than many of the church members.

This relatively large proportion of persons with no formal religious affiliation among a basically religious people merits an analysis. As a result of systematic interviews with the heads of Mennonite households, the writer is convinced that some of the nonmembers are quite religious people. They do not join the church precisely because they feel it has too many faults. Moreover, compared with other Mennonite groups, the social pressure to submit to baptism and to join the church is relatively low. This may be due to the earlier disputes concerning the proper mode of baptism, a matter about which the present writer found considerable general dissatisfaction among adults. Today there is a tendency for religious leaders to minimize the necessity and importance of baptism, and the great emphasis in all the churches, as measured in terms of repeated references in sermons, is on personal faith. Nonmembers frequently insist that they possess such faith, and it appears

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[17] In the Paraguayan Chaco, for example, nonmembers number about 2 per cent in Menno and 15 per cent in the Fernheim and Neuland colonies. See H. Hack, Die Kolonisation der Mennoniten im Paraguayischen Chaco (Amsterdam: Koenigliches Tropeninstitut, Abteilung fuer kulturelle und physische Anthropologie, Nr. 65 [1961]), p. 176.

that some of them avoid church membership in order to keep away from the need to take sides on the various points of disagreement between the sister denominations. Many, of course, simply are unwilling to accept the responsibilities of church membership.

Cultural barriers are important in reducing Mennonite conversion to other religious denominations. The Mennonites, as an ethnic group, possess numerous social and cultural peculiarities which tend to keep them within their own society even when they are dissatisfied with it. Those who do join other churches generally do so as a result of marriage with non-Mennonites, or of moving to non-Mennonite communities. A person who has always heard the Gospel in German, who thinks of Portuguese as satisfactory only for business, or for conversations with outsiders, and who considers the southern European racial, cultural, and social characteristics to be inferior to his own is not likely to join a "Brazilian church." If persons of Mennonite background do join another church, it is almost invariably a German-language Lutheran or Lutheran-like denomination.

The privilege of enjoying all the benefits of membership in Mennonite society, whether a church member or not, is probably the most important reason for such a large proportion of nonmembers. If a member of this ethnic group conforms to its standards of honesty and morality, he will be welcomed in Mennonite society. He may have a religious wedding, and in time of serious need, he will receive the aid of relatives, friends, and even the church. Since such persons are not denied a Christian wedding or funeral, it is understandable that many of them view the

church as only a social institution in the community, membership in which has very little effect on one's destiny. The ease with which people relinquish their membership indicates that they do not believe that salvation is found only in the church. If an individual, or his relative, is not treated properly by a religious official or council, it is often considered sufficient reason to withdraw one's membership. Since no sanctions are applied to such persons, as long as they continue to be honest and moral, it is easy to conclude that church membership is optional for a Mennonite. On numerous occasions the present writer was told, "So-and-So is not a church member, but he is a good Christian." Or, "So-and-So is not a believer, but he is a Mennonite." Such statements reveal that "Mennonite" for these persons certainly is not a denominational affiliation.

Reasons given by nonmembers for their lack of religious affiliation frequently include the following: 1) lack of courage to make a public confession, and submit to baptism; 2) procrastination, in spite of general agreement with the importance of church membership; 3) unhappy experience with church leaders, or members; and 4) inadequate religious leadership. But the present writer never could escape the impression that the most basic reason was left unsaid: a person born to Mennonite parents, if he lives a moral, ethical life, can enjoy all the benefits of Mennonite society irrespective of actual church membership. As indicated above, he may take the position that as long as he has personal faith baptism and church membership are not necessary for a genuine Christian life. If they were considered necessary, one fourth of the Mennonite adult

population would be under religious sanctions. This is not the case, however, so one must conclude that they are not requisites for being a "good Mennonite."

As long as the cultural barriers remain so strong, even in the urban Mennonite communities, and as long as status in the Mennonite group is more a condition of birth, family relations, language, and sociocultural heritage than of denominational affiliation, there will persist the unexpected situation of a religiously oriented ethnic group in which one-fourth of its members have no formal religious affiliation.

Religious Affiliation by Community

As noted earlier, the entire adult population contains 26 per cent nonmembers. An examination of Table XVII indicates that the rural community (Witmarsum) has the largest proportion of church members (78 per cent), the urban community (Vila Guaíra) has the smallest (67 per cent), whereas the two rurban communities have intermediate proportions. The predominance of the Mennonite Brethren Church is general, with the exception of Witmarsum, where the historical background explains its minority position. Since there was no Mennonite Brethren congregation in Witmarsum until 1958, one could say that this group has grown the most rapidly during the past seven years. Its membership, however, is composed largely of people who were members of the denomination earlier in their lives. The small number of non-Mennonite church members consists principally of spouses of Mennonites who married outside their ethnic group.

Table XVII. Percentages of the Persons Aged 20 and Over Having Stated Religious Affiliation in Four Paraná Mennonite Communities, 1965

Religious affiliation	Total	Witmarsum	Guarituba	Boqueirão	Vila Guaíra
Mennonite Brethren Church	40.2	21.1	45	53.5	34.7
Mennonite	25.5	28.4	25	21.8	29.3
Free Evangelical Mennonite	6.5	26.1	--	--	--
Other churches[a]	1.8	2.6	2	0.7	2.9
Nonmember	26.0	21.8	28	24.0	33.1
Totals	100.0	100.0	100	100.0	100.0
Numbers	(1,216)	(303)	(60)	(542)	(311)

[a]This residual category includes persons from the following denominations, in rank order: Lutheran, Decided Christianity, Roman Catholic, Methodist, and Presbyterian.

The religious affiliation of married couples in the several communities indicates that the proportion of completely unchurched couples ranges from 6.3 per cent in Witmarsum to almost 20 per cent in Vila Guaíra. (See Table XVIII.) This is an indication of the increasingly secular character of many Mennonites who live in an urban setting. Although most of the couples are members of the same Mennonite denomination, there is considerable marriage across denominational lines. In Witmarsum, for example, 12.7 per cent of the couples who are members of the same Mennonite denomination came from different ones.

Religious Affiliation by Age Groups

Among the Mennonites, as in other groups, church membership increases with increasing age. An examination of Figure 7, however, reveals two "lost generations." (Guarituba is not included because of its small number of cases.) The older one is the group aged 45 to 59 in Witmarsum and Boqueirão. When the data are examined by sex, it becomes apparent that the drop in the percentage of church members in this age group is due to a disproportionately large number of males. These persons, especially those in the fifties, were educated in the schools of Communist Russia. As one fluent member of this age group explained it to the present writer, "You must remember that my generation grew up in, and was educated in the schools of revolutionary Russia. To make a public confession and accept baptism involves an ideological conflict."[18]

The second "lost generation" is the group aged 30 to 49 in Vila Guaíra. All of these persons came to Brazil as children, or were born during the first years in Brazil. They grew up during a very unsettled

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[18]Interview, March 10, 1965.

Table XVIII. Percentages of the Married Couples Having Stated Religious Affiliation in Four Paraná Mennonite Communities, 1965

Religious affiliation of married couple	Total	Witmarsum	Guarituba	Boqueirão	Vila Guaíra
Both members of same Mennonite church	68.3	67.7	60	72.8	62.0
Members of different Mennonite churches	2.6	6.3	--	1.3	1.7
Mennonite-non-Mennonite	3.2	6.3	4	1.3	3.3
One spouse a church member	13.7	13.4	20	13.6	13.2
Both spouses nonmembers	12.2	6.3	16	11.0	19.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100	100.0	100.0
Numbers	(501)	(127)	(25)	(228)	(121)

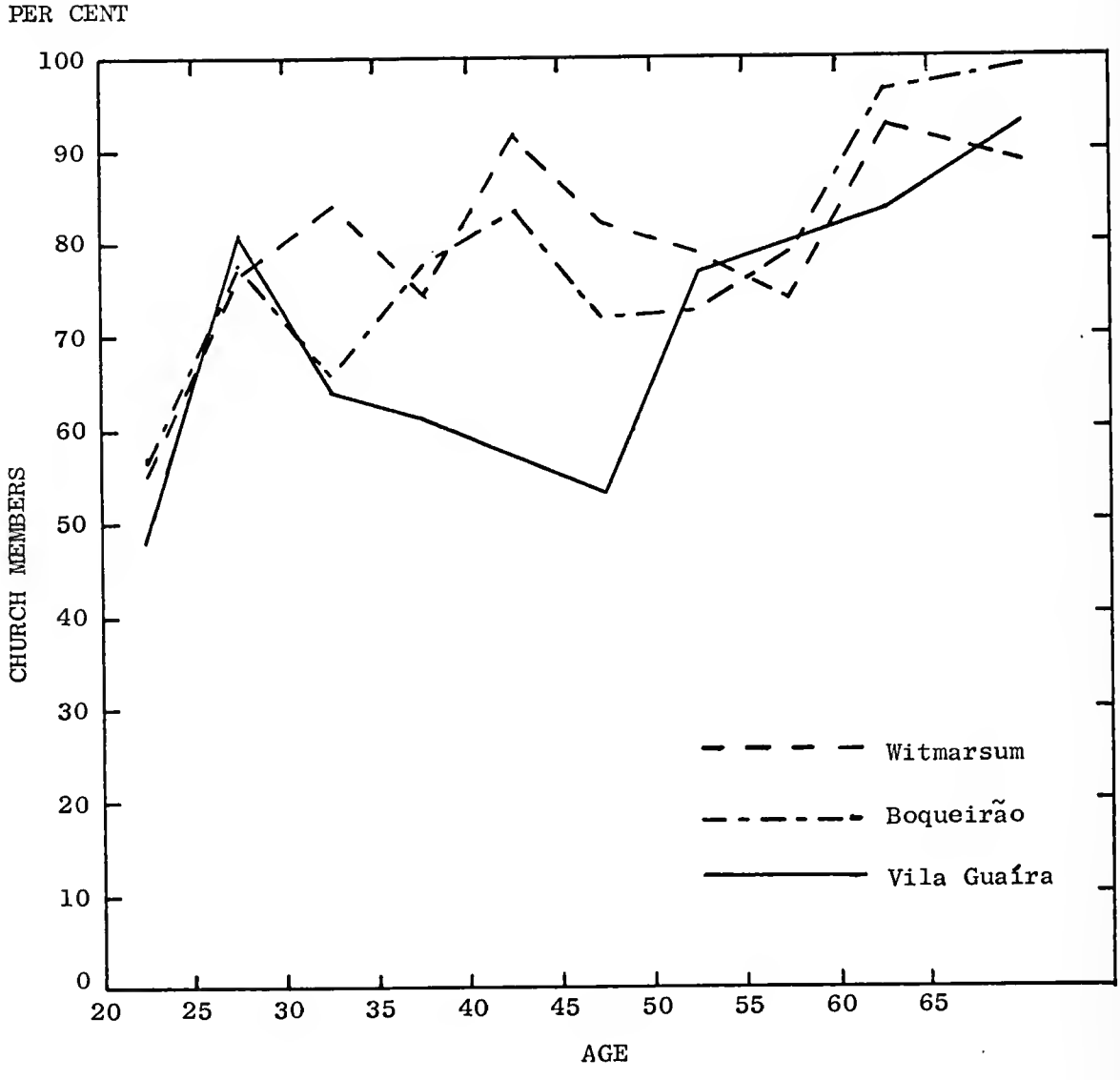

Figure 7. The Relationship of Age to Church Membership in the Three Principal Paraná Mennonite Communities, 1965.

period. Many of them remember the horrors of fleeing from Communist Russia, and the terrifying deprivations of beginning life anew in the virgin forests of Santa Catarina. Systematic religious education plummeted to a low level during those years, especially with the institution of Vargas' nationalization program of the late 1930's. The religious conflicts also increased during the years when many of these persons were old enough to consider joining the church. To complicate the picture even more, the Mennonite colonies were caught up in the political and spiritual unrest which Nazi ideology brought to all the German-speaking inhabitants of southern Brazil in the mid- and late thirties. The subsequent spiritual and political disillusionment left its imprint on the Mennonite youth during World War II. When the present writer discussed the possible reasons for the younger "lost generation" with several Mennonite leaders, some suggested that many of these persons are still convinced or unrepentent Nazis.[19]

It is doubtful that this is the best explanation, however, since at present only the urban community has a very low proportion of church members aged 30 to 49. Certainly many of those from the same age groups who now live in the rural and rurban communities also experienced the same difficult times and similar appeals for their ideological allegiance. It is important to note that those Mennonites who moved to the city in the 1940's frequently were the ones who were trying to escape the

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[19]Several Mennonite observers pointed out that in Paraguay many persons in this age range also were without formal religious affiliation, and only after a revival, in which the sin of harboring Nazi ideology was publicly confessed, did many of them enter the church. They also noted that no such revival took place in Brazil. Interviews on March 16 and March 31, 1965.

influence of the church, or at least were not among the more fervent members. These people already rejected the traditional "Sodom Complex" concerning the city, and they were more interested in bettering their individual fortunes than in working for the interests of the group. Also it appears that in the nonurban communities social pressure encouraging church membership is more effective, whereas alternate nonreligious activities and organizations are more numerous and available for those who dwell in the city. The present writer concludes, therefore, that the main reason for the urban "lost generation" is principally a function of less allegiance to the values of traditional Mennonite society, rather than that of involvement in Nazi ideology. It is noteworthy that in the urban community the percentage of church members among the younger adults is similar to that of the rural and rurban communities. This demonstrates clearly that urban residence does not lead necessarily to the decline of the Mennonite church--a revolutionary idea for most Paraná Mennonites of nonurban residence.

Sex Differentials in Religious Affiliation

The sex ratio of the adult study population is relatively low. Table XIX reveals that this index is 94 for those 20 years of age and over. The sex ratios for the membership of the three Mennonite denominations range from 68 to 72, whereas that for the total nonmember group is 232. The variations in the several communities indicate that the urban community is less extreme in the overrepresentation of males in the nonmember category. Guarituba's small population makes any comments precarious. Although most Mennonites insist that they have a

Table XIX. Sex Ratios of Persons Aged 20 and Over Having Stated Religious Affiliation in Four Paraná Mennonite Communities, 1965

Religious affiliation	Total	Witmarsum	Guarituba	Boqueirão	Vila Guaíra
Mennonite Brethren	72.2	68	69	73.7	71
Mennonite	68.5	72	86	61.6	72
Free Evangelical Mennonite	71.7	72	--[a]	--[a]	--[a]
Other churches	15.8	16	--[b]	--[b]	13
Nonmembers	232.6	230	325	242.1	212
Community totals	93.6	89	107	92.2	98

[a]No one in this category.
[b]All in this category are females.

basic religious orientation, when religious dedication is measured in terms of church membership such commitment is much more likely for females than it is for males. Whereas 37.6 per cent of the males are nonmembers, only 15.2 per cent of the females are such. Statistically this relationship is highly significant.[20]

The Measurement and Correlates of Mennonite Religious Attitudes

Since Mennonites' ideal view of themselves includes a strongly religious orientation, the present writer administered a scale designed to measure "attitude toward organized religion." He sought to discover the significant relationships between religiosity and personal characteristics, as well as the relationship of religiosity to other attitude-complexes. The scale used was the Religion Scale (R-Scale) developed by Holtzman and associates.[21] The R-Scale items were distributed randomly in the attitude section of the schedule among items from five other measurement instruments: Srole's Anomia Scale (A-Scale),[22] the California Politico-economic Conservatism Scale (PEC-Scale)[23] and

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[20] Chi-square = 78.465, p. $< .001$; Q = .541.

[21] See A.A. Frankel, W.H. Holtzman, and L.F. Graham, "Religion Scale" (unpublished manuscript, Department of Psychology, University of Texas, n.d.). (Mimeographed.)

[22] Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corolaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, XXI, 6 (December, 1956), 709-716. Also Dorothy Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, XXIV, 2 (April, 1959), 189-202.

[23] T.W. Adorno et al., The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), p. 169.

F-Scale,[24] the Purdue Scale to Measure Attitude toward any Defined Group,[25] and a Mennonite Values Battery constructed by the present writer.[26] The R-Scale consists of 23 items, the Purdue Scale (hereafter referred to as the Grice-Remmers Scale, after its originators) has 17 items, and the other four have five items each. (See Appendix D for copies of the unpublished scales.)

The entire schedule, of which the "Attitude Section" was a part, was administered to 103 parents and 70 students, as described in Chapter I. There were no students from Guarituba and since only eight parents' schedules were obtained in this small rurban community, they were not included in the calculations. The present writer decided it would be better to exclude the eight, rather than to include them with the schedules from Boqueirão, inasmuch as it can not be assumed that the two communities are similar enough to permit such a combination.

The Religion Scale and the five other instruments were administered as part of a general attempt to seek the direction and causes of social and cultural change among the Paraná Mennonites. The present writer assumes that statistically significant differences in the attitudes of parents and students, as measured by the instruments mentioned earlier, may be interpreted as indications of the propensity of students to stimulate and effect change in Mennonite society and culture. This

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[24] Ibid., pp. 255-257. For the five-item F-Scale, see A.H. Roberts and Milton Rokeach, "Anomie, Authoritarianism, and Prejudice," American Journal of Sociology, LXI, 4 (January, 1956), 355-358.

[25] H.H. Remmers (ed.), Purdue Master Attitude Scales (Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Bookstore, 1960), used with permission.

[26] A five-item instrument with face-value validity.

tendency on the part of students probably is due partially to their frequent, intimate contacts with non-Mennonites on a basis of equal-status relationships.[27] Also, the defiance of adult norms and authority by young people may be expected to contribute to student deviance from traditional attitudes.

Rationale for the Type of Analysis Employed

All of the scales, with the exception of the Mennonite Values Battery, are validated instruments in social science research. In general they are assumed to be interval scales, and their results are analyzed in terms of means, standard deviations, correlation coefficients, and other indices suitable to such scales. The writer used a five-point response continuum, commonly called a Likert response scale, to score the replies of those interviewed. It has been noted by various investigators that such instruments are, in fact, ordinal scales.[28] Since the writer used them with persons lacking a North American background, and especially since there was no attempt to validate the German forms of the instruments, it was decided to treat them as dichotomized ordinal

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[27]The importance of equal-status contacts in reducing prejudice between members of different cultural and racial groups is well known. See, for example, George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination (3rd. ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1965), pp. 503-511.

[28]A typical comment is the following: "The score yielded by a Likert scale can be interpreted only in terms of where the individual's score falls relative to the distribution of scores of other people; the score does not have absolute meaning." David Krech, Richard S. Crutchfield, and Egerton L. Ballachey, Individual in Society: A Textbook of Social Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962), p. 153.

scales.[29] The writer felt justified in using them, because the Mennonites' thought patterns are quite similar to those of their brethren in North America.

The Analysis of the Data

In accordance with the above discussion, the scale scores were dichotomized into Low and High classes. The cutting point was determined for each scale by the median on the frequency distribution of the respective total scores. This is only an approximation of the median, in order not to separate identical scores. Contingency tables were then constructed to test the various hypotheses, and Chi-squares were calculated. The strength of statistically significant relationships is measured in terms of Yule's Q for the fourfold tables.[30] The number of parents is 95 (103, less the eight from Guarituba); for students it is 70. In several instances the present writer was convinced that certain relationships were important, in spite of their lack of statistical significance. Such relationships are referred to as "noteworthy." Due to small numbers, simultaneous subsorting by two or three variables often made the demand for statistical significance inappropriate.

Analysis and Interpretation of the Hypotheses

The purpose of the following discussion is to describe the results of the statistical analyses of the present writer's hypotheses, as well

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[29] For a discussion of nominal, ordinal, and interval scales, see Claire Selltiz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (2nd ed. rev.; New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1959), pp. 189-194.

[30] For a discussion of Yule's Q, see John H. Mueller and Karl F. Schuessler, Statistical Reasoning in Sociology (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961), pp. 242-249.

as to note some of their implications. The cutting point for the R-Scale scores was 90 and over for High, and 89 and under for Low. The score is accepted as a relative measure of the respondents' attitude toward religion.

The writer hypothesized that the parents were relatively homogeneous in their attitude toward religion irrespective of age, residence, level of educational attainment, or occupation. The following hypothesis, therefore, was tested:

> Hypothesis 1. There is no statistically significant relationship between parents' R-Scale scores and:
>
> a. age (specifically, those who were socialized in Russia [45 years of age and over] and those socialized principally or entirely in Brazil [44 years of age and under];
>
> b. residence (urban vs. rural parents);
>
> c. educational level (those with primary school, or less, vs. those with more than primary school); and
>
> d. occupation (farmer vs. nonfarmer).

The results of the analyses indicate that the null hypothesis should not be rejected for the four characteristics. As age increases, so do the proportions of high R-Scale scores; but this did not attain statistical significance. A highly significant Chi-square was obtained when residence was tested, but practically all of the relationship was spurious, being caused by the large difference in the proportions of church members in the two locality groups. When church membership was controlled, the residential dichotomy yielded results that support the null hypothesis. A similar situation existed for the occupational dichotomy, which also yielded an insignificant relationship when church membership was controlled.

It was assumed that the R-Scale would differentiate between church members and nonmembers. The present writer also hypothesized that in addition to the expected relationship for religious affiliation, the parent-student dichotomy would yield an even more significant relationship.

Hypothesis 2. A statistically significant relationship exists between R-Scale scores and:

a. religious affiliation (church members vs. nonmembers); and

b. the two generations (parents vs. students).

The analysis by religious affiliation was significant for the total population and for the parents. For the students, the relationship was significant only at the 10 per cent level. Because of the strength of the association, however, the student difference is considered significant (Q = .655; see Table XX).

The parent-student dichotomy involves a highly significant relationship (Chi-square = 13.726). The Chi-square obtained in this case was the largest of all analyses of the R-Scale scores. The present writer infers that these results strongly support the hypothesis that the students are in fact significantly different from the parents in their religious attitudes. The students, as far as their attitude toward religion is concerned, may be considered an important factor in the stimulation of religious change.

Hypothesis 3. The parent-student differences in R-Scale scores within each community are greater than the differences between the three principal communities.

To analyze this hypothesis, the data were arranged in terms of the respective percentages in the low and high categories. The expected

Table XX. A Summary of Significant Relationships for Attitude Scale Scores

Relationships		Frequencies Low	Frequencies High	Chi-square[a]	Probability level[b]	Q-Value[c]
R-Scale score and religious affiliation:						
Total	Nonmember	28	15	10.385	.001	.548
	Member	43	79			
Parents	Nonmember	14	13	10.912	.001	.696
	Member	11	57			
Students	Nonmember	14	2	3.205	.10	.655
	Member	32	22			
Parent-Student dichotomy and:						
R-Scale	Students	46	24	13.726	.001	.533
	Parents	35	60			
MV-Battery	Students	58	12	43.961	.001	.840
	Parents	28	67			
F-Scale	Students	48	22	12.971	.001	.547
	Parents	37	58			

[a]All Chi-square values are computed from fourfold tables, and are corrected for continuity. See Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1954), p. 384.

[b]The probability of chance occurrence is less than the stated level.

[c]Yule's Q. See John H. Mueller and Karl F. Schuessler, Statistical Reasoning in Sociology (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961), pp. 242-249.

differences were found between students and parents in the rural and rurban communities, but in the urban community there were practically none. Also, there is practically no difference in the respective proportions of high and low scores between the rurban and urban communities. The hypothesis, as stated, was rejected, but with reservations, due to the predicted differences in some of the instances (between students and parents in the rural and rurban communities, and the total differences between the rural and rurban communities). It is noteworthy that among the students the proportions of low scores diminish from rural to urban, whereas these proportions increase among parents as one passes along the rural-urban continuum. All the rural students are church members, yet they score the lowest of all students. Most of them are older than the average, and probably the scores indicate that those who leave the rural community to study in the city deviate the most from the traditional religious attitudes of their elders.

Given the Mennonites' insistence that religion is the center of their way of life, the present writer decided to test a series of hypotheses which suggested that attitude toward religion would be significantly related to: attitude toward traditional, Mennonite values; attitude toward non-Mennonite, non-German Brazilians; acceptance of authoritarian opinions; and politico-economic conservatism. He also hypothesized that there would be no relationship between attitude toward religion and anomia, nor would the Mennonites display any marked tendency toward anomia. The data support this null hypothesis, although an unexpectedly large group of parents in Boqueirão who are not church

members score high on the Anomia Scale. Although this difference is noteworthy, it is not statistically significant. The several hypotheses relating attitude toward religion to other attitudes are four in number.

Hypothesis 4. There is a significant relationship between R-Scale score and the acceptance of traditional, Mennonite values, as measured by the Mennonite Values Battery. Those who score high (favorable) on the R-Scale will tend to score high (favorable) on the MV-Battery.

Hypothesis 5. There is a significant inverse relationship between R-Scale score and attitude toward non-Mennonite, non-German Brazilians, as measured by the Grice-Remmers Scale for measuring attitude toward any defined group (GR-Scale). Those who score high (favorable) on the R-Scale will tend to score low (unfavorable) on the GR-Scale, and vice versa.

Hypothesis 6. There is a significant relationship between R-Scale score and a tendency to accept authoritarian opinions, as measured by the F-Scale. Those who score high (favorable) on the R-Scale will tend to score high (authoritarian) on the F-Scale.

Hypothesis 7. There is an inverse relationships between R-Scale score and politico-economic conservatism, as measured by the California PEC Scale. Those who score high (favorable) on the R-Scale will tend to score low ("conservative") on the PEC-Scale.

The analyses did not support any of the above four hypotheses. In every case the responses were almost evenly divided between consistent and inconsistent ones. Certain subgroups were more consistent than others, but none were significantly so. These results may indicate a fault in the instruments, or a lack of candor on the part of the respondents. The present writer accepts an explanation which he considers more accurate; namely, in spite of Mennonites' idealization of religion as the focus of their way of life, it does not appear to play a significant role in the determination of these four particular attitudes.

The present writer is convinced, however, that religious overtones are in fact involved in Mennonites' opinions on most subjects. But one Mennonite uses the Bible to defend a racist opinion, whereas another may use it to defend an opposing viewpoint. Such a situation contributes to the lack of a demonstrated relationship between religious attitude and the other attitudes mentioned in this section.

The most important results of this entire analysis involve the parent-student dichotomy. Three of the five attitudes involved significant differences between parents and students. No significant parent-student relationship was found for the attitude toward Brazilians. This is a very important observation, inasmuch as in an immigrant group the second generation usually begins to differ greatly from the first in favorable attitude toward the "host group." The fact that both students and parents are divided almost equally between those with favorable, and those with unfavorable, attitudes toward Brazilians may indicate that the period of conflict on this point is yet in the future, or that in the pluralistic situation of Paraná the policy of seeking the best in both cultures has been adopted both by parents and by students. The latter suggestion probably is the more correct one.

The three scales which yielded significant results in terms of the parent-student dichotomy, in rank order by Q-values are: Mennonite Values Battery; F-Scale; and R-Scale (see Table XX). These results support the thesis that the students are the most important agents of change in the Mennonite communities.

The investigator was interested to discover that the analysis of the scores on all except two of the scales (Mennonite Values and Politico-economic Conservatism) revealed that Vila Guaíra and Witmarsum were similar, whereas the rurban community displayed the characteristics one would expect to find in the isolated, rural community. The parents in Boqueirão have a disproportionately high number of low GR-Scale scores (unfavorable attitude toward "Brazilians") and those with no formal religious affiliation have disproportionately high numbers of high A-Scale scores (greater degree of anomia). Both parents and students in Boqueirão have unusually large proportions of high F-Scale scores (authoritarian attitude).

While these results are unexpected in terms of theoretical rural-urban differences, they coincide with the general impressions of the writer as a result of his field work in the several communities.[31] It may be noted in this regard that eight of the ten families who refused to cooperate in the present writer's study were from Boqueirão. In addition, the task of getting cooperation from the respondents for the interviews with those in the 20 per cent parent sample was much more difficult in this community. The explanation of this unexpectedly provincial orientation may be that the inhabitants of Boqueirão lack the cohesion of those in Witmarsum (whose leaders endorsed the research, and whose members are accustomed to the yearly census performed by the

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[31]The present writer concurs with the opinion that attitude surveys should be used cautiously by sociologists. Perhaps their greatest value, in the words of Robert K. Merton, is that "they are a useful supplement" to serve as a check of one's observations of scattered cases. "Fact and Facitiousness in Ethnic Opinionnaires," American Sociological Review, V, 1 (February, 1940), 26.

school principal) as well as the more frequent contact on a more intimate level with non-Mennonites, which is true of those in Vila Guaíra. In addition, the churches in Boqueirão are dominated by a fundamentalistic orientation to an extent unequaled in the other communities. This orientation, involving numerous taboos, and strict religious beliefs and behavior, appears to be related to the authoritarian attitude demonstrated by the F-Scale responses of persons in this settlement.

Religious Change among the Paraná Mennonites

A comparison of the religious life and organization of the Mennonites in Brazil with that in Russia prior to the 1929 exodus reveals numerous changes. Many of them are of a secondary nature, and simply demonstrate that societies change with the times. Changes of major interest here include those in religious beliefs, organization, and behavior patterns.

Changes in Belief Patterns

Although the majority of traditional Mennonite beliefs remain the same in Brazil, it is evident that change is taking place in this aspect of their way of life as well as in the secular areas. The acceptance of the revolutionary idea that Mennonitism may be able to survive in an urban environment perhaps is the most significant change in Mennonite religious beliefs. The Russian Mennonites generally held a very pessimistic view of the city, and their concept of the Biblical doctrine of nonconformity involved a geographical separation from an "evil world," of which the city is the epitome.

During their 35 years in Brazil, many Mennonites, judged by their residence, have rejected this "Sodom Concept" of the city. Of the total Paraná Mennonite population, about 20 per cent live within the city limits of Curitiba, and 50 per cent reside on its outskirts. The responses to the Mennonite Values Battery also indicate a general ambivalence toward traditional, rural values by 64 per cent of the parents and 94 per cent of the students.[32] The first Mennonites to go to the city did so in spite of great social pressure which discouraged such moves. The majority in the rural communities of Santa Catarina pointed out that such an exodus not only weakened the rural communities, but that the migration to the city would have dire spiritual and social consequences, even threatening the continued existence of the Mennonite faith.[33] After

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[32]These percentages were calculated by considering all scores lower than 20, the theoretical minimum for consistent agreement, as being ambivalent. Scores under 15 may be considered "unfavorable," which include 12 per cent of the parents and 50 per cent of the students. The percentages for "general ambivalence" in the text, of course, include all persons except those with scores of 20 or higher.

[33]One Brazilian Mennonite writer has noted that the adoption of dairy farming made it difficult for the rurban Mennonites to observe properly the Sabbath. See Peter Klassen, "The Mennonites of Brazil," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XI, 2 (April, 1937), 116.

The most famous Mennonite churchman from North America, after a visit to Brazil, wrote as follows:

> Great dangers face this [Curitiba] settlement . . .. Many of the young people are attracted to the city, and the church does not seem strong enough to stem the tide . . .. The Mennonites of Brazil as everywhere else in the world, must keep themselves rather separate from the surrounding world if they expect to maintain their faith, but in Brazil they face the further danger of assimilation in a culture . . . which is morally, intellectually, socially, and in every other way much lower than their own . . .. If this takes place

almost 30 years, the evidence is that the generation who moved to the city is indeed "half-lost" to the church, but the younger urban adults are represented in the church in about equal proportions with their age peers in the rurban and rural communities (see Figure 7).

With respect to this changed attitude toward urban living, the Paraná Mennonites have much in common with those in North America, who currently are caught up in a rapid urbanization process, whereas they deviate greatly from the Mennonites in the rural colonies elsewhere in Latin America, where the concept of separation from the world continues to have a geographical connotation. The Paraná Mennonites may be said to have reinterpreted the doctrine of nonconformity to the world as understood by their forefathers.

The reinterpretation of the Biblical doctrine of nonresistance is the second most important change in belief patterns. During most of Mennonite history, the twin beliefs of nonconformity and nonresistance have been very important doctrines. In Brazil nonconformity has been reinterpreted in a more individual manner (internal, spiritual separation), and, in an analogous manner, nonresistance also is now applied in a more individual manner (in daily life the individual should be a peacemaker). The group expression of absolute refusal to perform military service is no longer a feature of Brazilian Mennonites. During most of the denomination's history, the great majority of members have refused to bear

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with the oncoming generation, the Mennonites of Brazil are lost to Mennonitism.

H.S. Bender, "With the Mennonite Refugees in Brazil and Paraguay: A Personal Narrative," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XIII, 1 (January, 1939), 63-64.

arms.[34] This refusal brought severe persecution, which usually resulted in a migration of the Mennonites to new areas where freedom of religion and exemption from military service were granted to them. This was the cause of the Mennonite migration from Danzig to Russia (1789-1850), and of that from Russia to North America (1874-1884) when the 1874 Conscription Law denied them exemption.[35] The Mennonites who remained in Russia then developed alternative-service programs, notably a forestry corps and a noncombatant medical corps, which they themselves administered and financed. This program in 1917 cost the Mennonites more than 3,000,000 rubles.[36]

When the decision was made in 1930 to send the Mennonite refugees to South America, due to the closed doors in North America, the recommendation of the Mennonite Central Committee (all-Mennonite relief organization) was to send all the refugees to Paraguay, where exemption from military service was promised by the government. Those who entered Brazil were aware that no legal provision existed to exempt a minority group from military service. After their arrival in Brazil, they sought to secure such an exemption but were unsuccessful. The Mennonites had the impression that the Brazilian constitution permitted conscientious objecters to be exempted from military duty, which it does; but they were not aware of the severe restrictions which it would entail. In addition, they were assured in Germany by Brazil's representative,

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[34]See Guy F. Hershberger, "Nonresistance," Mennonite Encyclopedia, III, 897-907.

[35]See Frank H. Epp, Mennonite Exodus (Altona, Manitoba: D.W. Friesen & Sons, Ltd., 1961), p. 26.

[36]C.H. Smith, op. cit., pp. 479-480.

Colonel Gelzer, that exemption for reasons of conscience was possible.[37] For the first 18 years in Brazil, military service was not a problem, and when the first Brazilian-born Mennonites reached induction age, no solution had been worked out. Especially noteworthy is the fact that no serious attempt has ever been made to initiate an acceptable alternative-service program.

This radical departure from the nonresistant position of the Mennonites of Russia, however, is not a complete repudiation of the principle. As one leader explained it;

> The Biblical position on nonresistance is clear, and we accept it as the ideal for Christians in their daily contacts with others. But we now live in a democratic country where each citizen must accept responsibility for the defense of his country. Nonparticipation in military service seems to us to be an inappropriate position for persons living in a 20th-century democracy.[38]

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[37] Information contained in a letter of Peter Pauls, Sr., President of the Witmarsum, Paraná, colony, to Dr. Newton Carneiro, Secretary of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, Curitiba, Paraná [February, 1953] (in the files of the Cooperativa Mista Agro-Pecuária Witmarsum, Ltda.). This very interesting letter reviews the historical development of the "military service problem" among the Mennonites of Brazil. It notes that several Mennonite youths, after reaching induction age, were exempted from military service. The letter, written to protest a governmental decree in which Mennonites were included in a list of "Elements Undesirable for Immigration into Brazil," attempts to prove that Mennonites are not necessarily pacifists. It is especially unfair to penalize the Brazilian Mennonites for holding undesirable religious beliefs concerning military duty, says the writer, when all their young men have been serving voluntarily in the Brazilian armed services ever since 1950.

[38] Interview, February 2, 1965. The investigator discovered that the Paraná Mennonites who participated in the Vigilante Corps (Selbtschutz) in the Mennonite colonies during the Russian Civil War, 1918-1920, do not appear to agree with the official appraisal of that armed defense of the colonies by the Mennonite youth as a "grave mistake." For details on the Vigilante Corps, see Cornelius Krahn, "Selbtschutz (Self Defense)," Mennonite Encyclopedia, IV, 1124-1125.

Given this typical attitude of the religious leaders, as well as the willingness of the entire group to enter Brazil without written assurance of future exemption from military service, "it is reasonable to conclude that those making this choice [to migrate to Brazil] were not among the most scrupulous on this question."[39]

It should be noted that a few Mennonite young men were exempted from military service at the request of Mennonite leaders, but they lost their civil rights, in accordance with Article 141, section 8, and Article 181, section 3, of the Constitution.[40] In 1950 three Mennonite youths were refused exemption and since that date all young men have performed their military duty, with the exception of those who were deferred for reasons of health, or agricultural need.[41] To demand exemption at the expense of losing one's civil rights is a sacrifice that no Mennonite youth at present is ready to make. Such loss is much more severe than is evident to many North American critics of the Brazilian Mennonite position. Article 140 of Brazil's Military Service Law states, among other things, that anyone who has not fulfilled his military service obligations may not hold any type of government position, or sign a contract with any governmental agency at any level; he is denied the

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[39] C.H. Smith, op. cit., p. 517.

[40] Brazil, Constitution of the United States of Brazil, 1946 (As Amended) (Washington: Pan American Union, 1963), pp. 37 and 46.

[41] The legal decision against the three Mennonite youths is found in Parecer 90 de 12 de maio, 1950 [Lei 130, Insenção do Serviço Militar], given by José Ricardo Gomes de Carvalho Neto, Assistente Jurídico (BE 18, de 6 de maio, 1950--1201) (in the files of the Escola Fritz Kliewer, Witmarsum, Paraná).

privilege of obtaining a passport, a professional identification card, or a license to engage in any industry or profession; and he may not matriculate, or take an examination, in any state-related educational institution.[42] Such restrictions practically reduce a person to the status of a disenfranchised citizen; and they are incongruous in a democratic country.

It is noteworthy that many of the younger, university-trained leaders are now considering ways of approaching the government to seek a solution for those persons who may have a conscientious objection against military service. In the Minutes of the 1964 Annual Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church, a reference to a Mennonite agricultural development project in northern Brazil was considered as a possibility for alternative service.[43] It appears, therefore, that there is a current interest in seeking a return to the traditional position, but only on an individual basis. The application of nonresistance only to one's individual life perhaps is the greatest doctrinal difference between the Mennonites in Brazil and those in the rest of the Western Hemisphere. This new position, solidified only since 1950, puts them in the minority group of Mennonites, found mainly in Holland, Germany, and France, who now accept without a protest service in the armed forces of their respective countries.

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[42]Decreto Lei 9.500, 23 de julho, 1946 - Lei do Serviço Militar. Article 140, as amended, is found in Theotónio Negrão, Dicionário de legislação federal (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1961), p. 1289.

[43]Item 8, page 4.

Belief patterns of secondary importance which have changed in Brazil include shifts in emphases in eschatological doctrine, a less rigid Mennonite Brethren position on immersion as the only proper mode of baptism, a growing acceptance in the Mennonite Church of fundamentalistic taboos (no smoking, drinking, or dancing), and a reinterpretation concerning the literal observance of several Mennonite ordinances (kiss of peace, washing of feet and the woman's head covering). The restriction on social dancing is of interest because many are convinced that this prohibition is the result of fundamentalistic influence and interferences by North American missionaries. It is thus a factor in the anti-American attitude (usually covert) which many Paraná Mennonites possess in varying degrees of intensity.

Changes in Organization

In Russia the organization of both church and community was considerably more authoritarian than in Brazil. The Russian colonies each had an elected Oberschulze who was the civil authority, and the churches had a similar authority, whose title was Elder (Aeltester). In some instances the elder possessed great power, and usually he was responsible for numerous congregations in the various villages of the colony.

The loss of the position of Aeltester in Brazil is perhaps the most striking change in Brazilian Mennonite religious organization. It approximates in importance the hypothetical loss of the position of bishop in the Methodist Church. As noted earlier, the Mennonite Brethren and Free Evangelical Mennonites no longer ordain elders. (This change also is taking place among various Mennonite bodies in North America.)

The reasons for this loss in Brazil are not difficult to discover. The trend toward a more democratic organization in church and community makes the authoritarian position both of Oberschulze and Aeltester increasingly incongruous. Rapid, convenient transportation facilities make it easier for the ministers of the various congregations to counsel together, thus eliminating the need for the elder who visited the various congregations. The small number of congregations, and their proximity to one another, practically eliminate the need for the traditional Mennonite elder. In addition, the hierarchical nature of one elder and several subordinate preachers is not in harmony with the Mennonite emphasis on brotherhood.

An acquaintance with the history of the religious conflicts among the Mennonites of Brazil convinces the present writer that some of the elders were prominent in fomenting the religious strife. It appears that the general reaction against those conflicts, coupled with a widespread desire for a more democratic church organization, convinced the Mennonite Brethren that the position of elder was no longer needed.

Although the Mennonite Church in Paraná has two elders (one in the Curitiba-Boqueirão area, and one in Witmarsum), their positions are viewed as those of supervisory ministers. Any attempt to exercise the traditional authority and power of the Mennonite elder certainly would evoke considerable resistance from the members. Indeed, illustrations of such a response are found in the recent history of this denomination.

The development of Sunday Schools for children and adults is another significant organizational change. The Sunday School's role as the agent of systematic religious education is doubly important in the

congregations which do not use a catechism for the instruction of baptismal candidates. It is also important in supplying opportunities for active participation of an increasing number of members in the church programs.

Local missionary activities, organized for long-term service, also are an important new opportunity for participation of church members, especially young persons. Most of the congregations sponsor mission work among the "working class" in nearby communities. Although this program provides the members with service opportunities among Portuguese-speaking people, it tends to perpetuate the ethnocentric attitude of Mennonite superiority, since the work is limited to lower-class Brazilians.

The delegation of more church responsibility to committees, and to professional, or at least specialized, leaders is clearly evident in the Mennonite Brethren Church. A review of their Annual Conference Minutes reveals a rapidly developing organizational framework for the church program. As yet the Mennonite Church is largely unstructured. Those who defend the less-structured conference organization insist that the democratic nature of congregational church government is eroded by the bureaucratic development of numerous church committees. Most changes among the Mennonites are toward a more democratic system; the evolving structure of the Mennonite Brethren Conference indicates that this denomination has reached the level of requiring a rationalized, representative democracy.

The development of a professional ministry is just beginning. The Mennonite Brethren Church and General Conference Church have professional

"teacher-preachers" whose salary, at the moment, is remuneration for their teaching. Probably it is only a matter of time until these professional teachers will become salaried ministers. They are beginning to play an important role as stimuli and channels of change. Their experience outside their own community is broad; and many were trained in Mennonite seminaries in Uruguay and North America. Probably their presence and influence in the Paraná communities will encourage the demands of the younger Mennonites for a professionalization of the ministry and the rationalization of the religious organization.

Changes in Religious Behavior Patterns

A comparison of patterned religious behavior in Russia and Brazil indicates numerous changes. Those of greatest sociological significance are included in the following discussion.

The increased participation of females in the activities of the congregation probably is the most significant of these changes. Although the church continues to be male-dominated, and will continue to be so, there is no longer exclusively male participation in the public services or in the Members' Assemblies. In addition to the participation of women in the Sunday School, and other regular organizations of the congregation, they are active in missionary activities as teachers and visitors in the homes of local families. They also take part in the discussion periods of adult Sunday School classes, especially in the Mennonite Brethren congregations. In all the churches, women find the extemporaneous prayer periods well suited for their active participation.

With the development of the combination fellowship and business session, called the Gemeindestunde, females came to be present for what earlier was an exclusively male activity--the deliberation and decision making on church policy and problems. The old terms for these business meetings were Bruderrat or Bruderschaft (Council of Brothers), terms which are rarely used any more. Although they seldom speak during the public discussion of delicate problems, their presence at the meetings, plus their subsequent discussions at home, probably play an important role in the church program.

The modernization of religious behavior is characteristic of all the Paraná Mennonites. The majority of these changes are viewed as of secondary importance by the Mennonites themselves, and are seen simply as an adjustment to a new era. Among these changes may be noted the shortening of the worship service, generally by having only one sermon; the use of individual cups in the Communion service; a tendency for couples and families to sit together in church; a general modernization of patterns of dress; and the rejection of the catechism as the means of preparation of baptismal candidates in the Curitiba area. Some changes in this category involve a reinterpretation of traditional views of Biblical passages. The Mennonites have discontinued three traditional practices which were based on specific Scriptures: the prayer veiling for women; the holy kiss; and the washing of the saints' feet. These changes put the Mennonites of Brazil in the mainstream of the trend toward modernization of traditional Mennonite practices.[44]

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[44] It should be noted that similar changes have occurred among many Mennonite groups in North America during the last 50 years.

Declining Age at Baptism

The age at baptism is of interest in the study of religious change among most Mennonite groups today. Since its beginning in the 16th century, this denomination has opposed infant baptism, and its members traditionally have been baptised at about 20 years of age.

The median age at baptism among the population in Paraná has been dropping in recent years. This is especially the case in the Mennonite Brethren Church. It is probably a reflection of the trend found in all the Mennonite churches in North America. Unfortunately the present writer was not able to secure data on this matter from all the Paraná congregations. On the basis of data secured from three Mennonite Brethren and two General Conference Mennonite congregations, for the period from 1960 to 1965, a general picture may be acquired. The General Conference congregations, even in the urban area, continue to have a median age of 20.6 years for the males and 18.8 years for the females. The Mennonite Brethren congregation in the rural colony is quite similar (20.0 and 19.5 years, respectively). In the urban and rurban areas, however, the age at baptism has dropped considerably in this denomination (16.5 and 15.7 years, respectively). In 1965, the Mennonite Brethren baptized persons as young as 12 years of age. During the past five years one person was baptized at 11 years of age. The lowest age at baptism in the General Conference congregations during this same period is 16 years. Two-thirds of all persons who entered the church since 1959 were under 20 years of age at the time of their baptism; the trend, therefore, is quite clear.

The Changing Mennonite "Self-Concept"

This dissertation has demonstrated that whereas the Mennonites' ideal self-concept is based on religious grounds, their more important features are those of birth, language, and sociocultural heritage. This ethnic basis now appears to be undergoing change, which may be seen by an examination of the preference of students and parents concerning marriage partners for the young people. A question was asked in which only three factors were to be considered: Mennonite heritage, German culture, and Christian belief. The writer carefully explained that all other factors were excluded, and, therefore, must remain the same. For example, all choices would be considered equally good-looking, or equally educated. Almost invariably parents asked whether all were of the same race. They were assured that "all must be white, because we are excluding race from consideration, and some of the choices obviously are white." Frequently the respondents specifically stated that the candidate for marriage must be of the same race as the Mennonites.

The question involved a choice in each of four selected combinations of the three factors which were paired in such a manner as to force the respondent to indicate his preferential ranking. (See Appendix E.) In spite of the fact that the question was rather complicated for persons unaccustomed to written problems, most respondents gave consistent and complete answers. About 80 per cent of both parents and students gave usable responses. Inasmuch as mate selection among Mennonites is explicitly related to a sense of loyalty to the group, an indication of their changing self-concept may be secured by noting the different

responses given by students and by parents. Although there is only a small difference in the proportions of church members in the two groups (students, 77 per cent; parents, 72 per cent), almost three-fourths (71 per cent) of the students with usable responses ranked Believer first, whereas less than half (45 per cent) of the parents did so. These student-parent differences involve a statistically significant relationship.[45] The data might be interpreted in several ways. It may be that the students tend to place greater emphasis on Christian belief due to their proximity to the idealistic training usually given to youth. In this case one might assume that today's parents would have chosen similarly before practical experiences made them less idealistic. Undoubtedly some of the respondents are of this type.

The interpretation which the writer considers more accurate, however, is that there is a change in the concept of "Mennonite" among the younger generation. A much higher proportion of them (68 per cent of the usable responses) than the parents (42 per cent) choose Believer-Germans or Believer-Mennonites as their first marital preference. The greatest proportion of parents (47 per cent) rank German-Mennonites or German-Believers in first place.[46] This choice of the students does not repudiate their Mennonite heritage; it simply indicates that they believe that the "good Mennonite" in fact places Christian belief first. This interpretation does not depend solely on the impressions of the

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[45] Chi-square = 8.414, $p. < .01$; $Q = .506$ (see Appendix E).

[46] It should be noted, however, that 29 per cent of the parents' usable responses are Believer-German. The combined terms are used here for brevity: for example, "Believer-German" indicates that the factor of belief is ranked above German culture, whereas "German-Believer" is just the opposite.

investigator which resulted from eleven months of participant observation; it rests also on the opinions of religious and youth leaders.

In response to the question "In your opinion, is the influence of the church increasing or decreasing?" most religious leaders said that it is increasing. They noted the increased participation of the youth in the programs of the church, Sunday School, missions, and musical activities, and their deeper spiritual commitment in recent years. The results of this analysis of marital preferences should be encouraging for those who believe that the future of Mennonitism will be brighter if "Mennonite" is principally a religious concept, accompanied secondarily by sociocultural features.

The Role of Cultural and Ethnic Priority in Religious Change

The Paraná Mennonites display the characteristics of an ethnic group, including the existence of "Mennonite" names.[47] As the preceding section revealed, parents tend to rank German culture above Christian belief in the choice of marriage partners for their children. This concern for the maintenance of German culture has led the Paraná Mennonites to make most of their outside contacts with culturally similar groups whose general orientations are far removed from Anabaptist-Mennonite faith and practice, which demonstrates effectively two important facets of the religious situation in Paraná. First, it suggests that the Mennonites are more concerned about the maintenance of their cultural

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[47]The most common names of the Mennonites in Danzig, in the 17th and 18th centuries, are still such among the Paraná Mennonites. See Johan Sjouke Postma, Das niederlaendische Erbe der preussisch-russlaendischen Mennoniten in Europa Asien, und Amerika (Leeuwarden: Drukkerij A. Jongbloed, 1959), p. 105.

heritage than they are about that of their spiritual heritage. Second, it has encouraged them to drop an absolute position on the two most distinguishing tenets of the Swiss Brethren and the Dutch Mennonites; namely, nonresistance and "believers baptism."[48] The contact of the Mennonites with the German Lutherans has helped them to justify their loss of nonresistance. Several ministers referred to these groups as examples of Christian denominations whose members do not seek to avoid military service. When asked whether they would accept Lutheran spouses of Mennonites into the church without rebaptism, some ministers replied in the affirmative.

These observations are not a judgment on the religious changes among Paraná Mennonites. They are given to show the great effect which cultural barriers and emphases have on the direction of religious change in a particular ethnoreligious social group. These factors also appear to have led many Mennonite parents to be more concerned about culture than about Christian belief when considering marriage partners for their children. This indicates, of course, that the ideal religious basis for Mennonite existence really involves a German-Mennonite-Believer concept.

As the greatest concentration of Mennonites in the world are becoming Americanized, the Paraná Mennonites are being driven into the arms of non-Mennonite, but German, fellowships. It is noteworthy, however, that many of the younger leaders in Paraná are learning English in an

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[48] See J.C. Wenger, Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1947), p. 157. The phrase "believers' baptism" refers to the practice of baptizing candidates only upon their personal profession of faith, and implies that the candidates are of an age of ethical accountability.

attempt to increase their contacts with their brothren in North America. Such interaction may aid those in Paraná to maintain their traditional Anabaptist-Mennonite spiritual heritage.

Summary

The data presented in this chapter demonstrate that religion is an important sociocultural focus among the Mennonites in Paraná. It is difficult to find an area of life in which they do not seek a Biblical basis for their patterned behavior. The analysis of Mennonites' attitudes toward religion indicates that in general they are very favorable. Nevertheless, the purported influence of religiosity on other attitudes appears to be an idealization of the situation. The analyses on the measurement and correlates of religious attitudes indicate that the most significant differences are those between parents and students. These data strongly support the present writer's hypothesis that the young people with frequent, equal-status contacts with non-Mennonites are the most important stimuli and agents of change in Mennonite society and culture. It is significant that students tend to rank "Believer" first in their choice of a marital partner, whereas parents are more likely to rank "German" or "Mennonite" first. It appears that spiritual dedication is becoming more important, whereas cultural considerations are becoming secondary in the younger generation's conception of what constitutes loyalty to true Mennonitism.

A review of the changes in religious beliefs, practices, and organizations indicates that much innovation has taken place during the Mennonites' residence in Brazil. In fact its extent is nothing

less than startling to their brethren in other parts of the Western Hemisphere. The German orientation of organized religion in the group under consideration has led its members to develop ties with German-language denominations whose theology and practice is quite different from those of the Mennonite faith. The smallness of the group in Brazil, and its isolation from other larger Mennonite bodies, has encouraged its members to seek inspiration and guidance from the German Evangelical movement. Association with this group in Brazil partially oxplains why the Mennonites have accepted such a great number of religious changes in a relatively short period of time.

PART IV

SOCIAL PROCESSES

CHAPTER X

COOPERATION, COMPETITION, AND CONFLICT

The basic social processes are opposition and cooperation. Opposition in Mennonite society takes the forms of competition and conflict, whereas cooperation is best classified as contractual and noncontractual. The purpose of this chapter is to indicate the relative importance of these social processes, and to note the changes which they have encouraged in the organization of the society under consideration.

Cooperation

Probably the most distinctive feature of the social processes of the Mennonites in Russia, as compared with their brethren in other parts of the world, is the very important role which contractual cooperation played in daily life. Most of the cooperative arrangements were associated closely with the system of local government, and involved a minimum of formal written regulations. In many cases the elected officers, who were chosen by the village or colony assemblies, served with little or no remuneration.

All such associations were nonprofit arrangements, and their operations were similar in many ways to those based on the Rochdale principles. Some of the more important cooperative programs included: (1) the Waisenamt, a mutual trust fund to aid orphaned minors, and serve as trustee for widows and aged persons; (2) community land funds,

which assisted young couples to buy farms; (3) fire- and cattle-insurance associations; (4) agricultural, horticultural, and educational organizations; and (5) mutual credit banks. The health and welfare institutions also were operated on a cooperative basis, and consumers' cooperatives were established.[1]

Noncontractual cooperative activities also were numerous in the Russian Mennonite agricultural villages. Voluntary fire brigades were organized, and "work bees" helped clear away the debris after a fire. Voluntary midwifery was common, and reciprocal work exchange was a regular feature of village life. Indeed, one writer asserts that their entire society in Russia was based largely on the practice of mutual aid.[2]

In Brazil the Mennonites attempted to establish many of their traditional cooperative associations, but none of them ultimately was successful in the new environment. This was especially true of the Waisenamt and the mutual-insurance programs. Their success depended on the voluntary participation of all the colonists, because the traditional civil autonomy and strong group-oriented social controls of the Russian Mennonite community now lacked a legal basis. Over the years the operation of these associations in Russia finally amounted to "compulsory cooperation." But in Brazil community leaders had no such legal authority, and inasmuch as many colonists preferred not to participate, the associations became impracticable.

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[1] For a description of the activities of the Waisenamt, and fire-insurance associations, see E.K. Francis, In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 125-130 and 133-134.

[2] J. Winfield Fretz, "Mutual Aid among Mennonites, I," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XIII, 1 (January, 1939), 44-45.

Economic Cooperation

A representative of the German government aided the Mennonites to establish a community-wide cooperative during their first year in Witmarsum, Santa Catarina. All observers agree that this association, which functioned as a consumers' and producers' cooperative, was the key factor in the economic survival of the Mennonite colonies during the early difficult years.[3] The Witmarsum cooperative was responsible for the general stores, saw mill, slaughter house, flour mill, and starch factory, and represented the colonists in business transactions with outsiders. It had a monopoly on any economic activity which it wished to direct, and private enterprise was limited principally to a few home industries or services, such as shoemaking, saddlery, cabinet making, and barbering.

A consumers' cooperative was established in 1937 in Boqueirão. This cooperative has been limited more in its authority and activities than the one in Santa Catarina. Nevertheless, as indicated in other chapters of this dissertation, the Boqueirão cooperative is involved in social and educational programs. Although the officers and workers in the cooperative continue to be Mennonites, in 1965 Mennonites made up only 45 per cent of its 550 members. A similar trend is evident in the milk producers' cooperative which was organized by Mennonites in 1957. In February, 1965, Mennonites made up 20 per cent of the current producers, and only 14.5 per cent of the total membership of 825.[4]

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[3] See, for example, Peter Klassen, "Mennonites in Brazil," Mennonite Life, II, 1 (January, 1947), 38.

[4] Computed from data secured from David Toews, President of the Cooperativa de Consumo Boqueirão, Ltda., and from Alfred Braun, President of the Cooperativa de Laticínios Curitiba, Ltda.

Whereas the minority position of the Mennonites in the milk producers' association is of no social consequence to the study group, the predominance of non-Mennonites in the Boqueirão cooperative poses a potential problem because this cooperative is the owner of the large social hall which is considered to be the exclusive property of the Mennonites in the community. Theoretically it would be possible for the majority of the membership to demand that the hall be opened to them for activities which would be unacceptable to most Mennonites.[5] The cooperative's regular financial contributions to the Mennonite school in Boqueirão might also be questioned by the non-Mennonite majority, but thus far no complaints have been registered. The trend, however, is an evidence of the increasing heterogeneity of the once all-Mennonite organization, and it appears likely that in the future it will be necessary to limit its activities strictly to business transactions.

The dairy farmers in Guarituba are members of the milk producers' cooperative in Curitiba, and in some cases, also of the consumers' cooperative in Boqueirão. In Vila Guaíra, however, no such association is found, nor are the inhabitants of this urban community members of the one in Boqueirão. Thus, it is clear that contractual cooperation has declined in importance in these three communities, when compared with the Mennonite colonies in Santa Catarina. In Boqueirão it now plays a relatively limited role, and it becomes increasingly insignificant as one passes from Guarituba to Vila Guaíra.

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[5]The officers are aware of this problem, and have placed written restrictions on the type of activities which may be conducted in the social hall. A majority vote of the membership, however, probably could change that regulation.

As indicated in Chapter VIII, the cooperative in Witmarsum, Paraná, continues to control most of the economic activities in that colony. Private enterprise is limited to the shops of a carpenter, a blacksmith, and several mechanics. With the dissolution of the traditional governmental system, the cooperative in Witmarsum now plays a dominant role in the corporate life of the colony. It operates the creamery, general store, feed mill, and hospital, and is responsible for the maintenance of the school, and the colony's roads and bridges. Nevertheless, the withdrawal of 20 per cent of the cooperative's members since March, 1964, indicates that a fifth of the families now are completely independent. Although these persons continue to live in the colony, they no longer participate in the mutual responsibilities of the maintenance of its services and business enterprises. Thus, even in Witmarsum the role of economic contractual cooperation is decreasing in importance to an unexpected degree, and the trend toward individualistic patterns of economic behavior is advancing in all four Mennonite communities in Paraná.

Noncontractual economic cooperation also has declined in importance in Paraná Mennonite society. Numerous respondents told the present writer that reciprocal work exchange is a thing of the past. Even in Witmarsum neighbors seldom help each other with farming duties, and when they do so, they are remunerated in cash. Although the kinship group accepts primary responsibility for the care of needy persons or families, both the church and the community frequently assist those in need. Only 11 per cent of the heads of households who were interviewed said that aid to needy families is limited to their own kin. Such assistance usually

is given in time of illness, or economic difficulties. As more Mennonites become economically self-sufficient, the latter type of noncontractual mutual aid is less frequent. Perhaps the largest projects involving voluntary economic cooperation have been the purchase of land and construction of facilities for the Mennonite sports clubs. Much free labor and materials are contributed, and most community members donate cash to defray the expenses of these projects.

A comparison of the role of economic cooperation in the Paraná Mennonite communities with the role of those in Santa Catarina before 1950, or Russia before 1914, indicates that it has declined in importance in Paraná. This decline is closely related to the desire of many Mennonites to be independent of community-directed controls over their economic activities. Most persons recognize the value of strictly economic cooperatives, but many of them reject the all-encompassing powers exercised by the leaders of these associations in Santa Catarina and in Witmarsum, Paraná. Thus the decline of the traditional cooperative activities of the Russian Mennonites in Brazil is part of their shift from a group-oriented way of life to one which is more individualistic.

Religious Cooperation

The three separate Mennonite denominations (see Chapter IX) cooperated in most of their regular activities during the period from 1930 to 1948 in Santa Catarina, and from 1935 to 1958 in Paraná. During the early years in both states, all regular worship services were held jointly in the local school buildings. In each congregation the Sunday

School, Choir, and women's society were joint efforts of all three denominations represented in the local church. The joint administration of the religious activities was the responsibility of the Kommission fuer Kirchlichenangelegenheiten (Commission for Church Affairs). Such intimate cooperation between the Mennonite Church and the Mennonite Brethren Church was much different than the usual separation which characterized their relations in many of the colonies in Russia. The Commission for Church Affairs had become important in Russia, after its founding in 1910, as a representative of all Mennonite bodies to the Russian government, as well as an executive committee for the joint activities of the several denominations. But in Brazil it functioned as an administrative body for the joint congregations. This unusual cooperation was born of necessity, and was continued in spite of numerous problems of interdenominational friction. The smallness of the several religious bodies, and their lack of funds, forced them to work together.

Some of the leaders of the Mennonite Church, which, in Brazil, was much smaller than the Mennonite Brethren Church, hoped that this cooperation might lead to a reconciliation of these two principal Russian Mennonite denominations. Their desires, however, were interpreted by many members of the Mennonite Brethren Church as an attempt to control a united organization which would lose the emotional fervor and spiritual vigor of the latter body.[6] In Paraná these two denominations cooperated

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[6]The failure of this attempt to achieve denominational reconciliation was viewed with satisfaction by members of the Mennonite Brethren Church. See A.H. Unruh, Die Geschichte der Mennoniten-Bruedergemeinde, 1860-1954 (Hillsboro, Kansas: The General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, 1955), pp. 807-811.

with less friction than in Santa Catarina, but numerous difficulties characterized the novel attempt of two competing religious bodies to maintain joint churches while preserving their own identities and particular emphases. The Boqueirão Church continues to be a joint congregation due to the determination of the elder of the Mennonite Church to maintain close ties with his brethren in the sister denomination. In all other cases, however, the Mennonite Brethren have withdrawn from the cooperative arrangements, and separate churches have been built. Even in Boqueirão the Mennonite Brethren now are making plans to build a separate church, which will end a noteworthy period of denominational cooperation perhaps unparalleled in Mennonite history.[7]

All Mennonite bodies in Witmarsum, Paraná, also cooperated in a joint church from 1951 to 1958. The members of the Mennonite Brethren Church who did not accompany their group from Santa Catarina to Rio Grande do Sul became members of the Free Evangelical Mennonite Church (see Chapter IX), which cooperated closely with the Mennonite Church in the newly established colony in Paraná. This continued until 1958 when many of the ex-members of the Mennonite Brethren Church withdrew from the cooperative arrangement and reestablished their ties with their former denomination.

By 1958 formal religious cooperation between the two principal Mennonite bodies in Brazil was greatly reduced. It had played a very

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[7]The lengthy period of cooperation between the Mennonite Church and the Mennonite Brethren Church in Boqueirão has caused the former to take a much more fundamentalistic position than that usually associated with it. Nevertheless, much dissatisfaction was expressed to the present writer by members of both groups. One leader said, "Our joint arrangement is like two families living in one house and sharing the same kitchen."

important role in most of the Mennonite communities during their early years, but increasing problems, plus the acquisition of greater economic resources, brought to a close this period of joint religious activity. In Witmarsum the Mennonite Church and the Free Evangelical Church continue a successful cooperative relationship, and in Boqueirão a less successful one appears to be on the verge of being discontinued. Interviews with religious leaders of both principal denominations indicate that at present there is very little significant cooperation between the Mennonite Church and the Mennonite Brethren Church, except in Boqueirão. It appears, however, that more harmonious personal relations now are possible between the members of the two groups.

Trends in Cooperative Activities

The preceding discussion demonstrates that economic and religious cooperation have decreased among the Paraná Mennonites and most of the traditional community-wide cooperative associations have been discontinued. Changing conditions in all the Mennonite communities also have reduced the frequency and relative importance of many noncontractual cooperative activities, once such prominent features of the way of life of the Russian Mennonites. Numerous respondents told the present writer that with their increased economic resources, they prefer to manage their own affairs, and to pay their neighbors who help them with some work on their properties. They noted that they would welcome a return to a cooperative system such as that of their forefathers only in times of emergency, but for "normal times" they prefer an individualistic arrangement.

Competition

Inasmuch as the group being studied is made up of persons who know personally a large portion of its members, it is not surprising to discover that much of the competitive interaction is rivalrous in nature. During a year of participant observation in Paraná, the present writer noted frequent instances of this type of behavior within the Mennonite settlements as well as between them. As is true of many rural groups, some of the farmers seem to engage in a friendly rivalry of work schedules, agricultural production, and the improvement of the general appearance of their farms. In all the communities there is evidence that some Mennonites are concerned about keeping up with certain neighbors or friends in the acquisition of material goods. The soccer and volleyball teams also offer channels of formal rivalry between the several communities. In general, the inhabitants of Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão feel superior to those of Witmarsum, and some inhabitants of the rural colony asked the present writer whether he thought their public programs were inferior to those of the Curitiba settlements.

Economic Competition

Until recently this social process did not play an important role in intercommunity relations nor has it exercised great influence within the Mennonite communities. Practically all of the farmers are milk producers, but recently contractual cooperation has been the main feature of this activity in the three rural and rurban communities. In Santa Catarina economic competition was not permitted within the Mennonite colonies, and such is still the case in Witmarsum, Paraná.

In Vila Guaíra most of the Mennonites who own factories are engaged in woodworking industries. Although they are engaged in competition with each other, they operate in the national market, so that little direct competition is involved.[8]

During the past decade the Witmarsum cooperative has developed a dairy industry. This activity has made the colony's dairymen competitors of those in Boqueirão and Guarituba. The cooperative's entrance into the fresh-milk market in Curitiba in June, 1965, appears to be resented by the members of the Curitiba milk producers' cooperative, whose officers are largely Mennonites. Attempts had been made during the past decade to combine the dairy production of the Paraná Mennonites, but serious disagreements on policy have made that impossible. These conditions have created difficulties between the Curitiba Mennonite dairymen and those in Witmarsum, and represent a significant increase in economic competition.[9] It appears likely that this process will increase in

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[8]Both ministers of the Vila Guaíra Mennonite Church are owners of plywood factories, but they told the present writer that since most of their products are sold in other states they are not in local competition. In general, the interaction of Mennonite businessmen in Vila Guaíra appears to be characterized more by rivalrous competition.

[9]The Mennonite dairymen in Boqueirão have much higher production costs than those in Witmarsum, who have more land for the production of forage and fodder. It thus appears that the Mennonites of Witmarsum are aligned with the Dutch dairymen of Paraná against the producers of the Curitiba area, both Mennonites and others. A serious conflict about the price of milk took place in Curitiba in May, 1965. The newspapers noted that the small farms in the metropolitan area are inefficient, and that many dairymen are abandoning this occupation because of a lack of aid from the government which would enable them to buy larger farms farther from the city. The entrance of the Witmarsum cooperative as an independent agent in the milk market complicates the problems of the Curitiba cooperative of securing higher milk prices and government loans for the rurban producers. See especially Gazeta do Povo, 22 de maio, 1965, Section 1, p. 3, and Section 2, p. 8; and 23 de maio, 1965, Section 2, p. 8.

social significance in the future. The fact that 20 per cent of the Witmarsum dairymen withdrew from the cooperative in that colony, and are now members of the milk producers' cooperative in Curitiba, complicates the intercommunity relations to the extent that in the future conflict may develop over this issue.

Religious Competition

Competitive interaction between the members of the Mennonite Church and those of the Mennonite Brethren Church has been a feature of their relationship during most of the latter group's history. The Mennonite Brethren Church was established in 1860 in southern Russia, and for several decades it was the object of severe persecution by the older majority group. Finally their relationship became one of competition, in which the Mennonite Brethren Church experienced an impressive success. In 1888 this group made up 4 per cent of the Mennonite population in Russia, whereas in 1926 it had grown to 22.5 per cent.[10] Many of its members considered those of the Mennonite Church as a legitimate mission field, and the great increase in membership was due largely to a successful program of proselytization in the majority denomination.

In Brazil, due to the smallness of the total group, and the urgent need to cooperate in all areas of life, religious competition was discontinued for several years. As noted earlier, cooperation was the principal feature of Mennonite interdenominational relations. After 1935, however, both competition and conflict increased between the two

[10] See Adolf Ehrt, Das Mennonitentum in Russland von seiner Einwanderung bis zur Gegenwart (Langensalza: Julius Beltz Verlag, 1932), pp. 61 and 85.

principal religious bodies. A review of this period of Mennonite history in Brazil (1935-1958) indicates that much of the competition was initiated by leaders of the Mennonite Brethren Church, which is the major religious body in the study group.

This numerical predominance, coupled with the traditional aggressiveness of Mennonite Brethren leaders, stimulated a competitive relationship between the denominations who were holding joint services in Santa Catarina and Paraná. An additional factor was the arrival in Brazil of several North American ministers of the Mennonite Brethren Church, who encouraged their brethren to separate themselves from the other Mennonite bodies, construct their own church buildings, and maintain a separate organization. One such minister, who served under the auspices of the Mennonite Central Committee (denominationally neutral), criticized the "Community-Cooperative Organization" in Santa Catarina, and encouraged all the Mennonites to unite with the Mennonite Brethren Church.[11] These competitive activities soon led to open conflict.

Since 1958 religious competition in Paraná has been limited to the development of Bible Schools and musical groups. These activities have benefited both the General Conference Mennonites and the Mennonite Brethren by improving the level of religious education and by encouraging a revival of choral and instrumental music in both groups.[12] At present

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[11]These data are included in a five-page position paper entitled "Stellungnahme zu dem Artikel 'Zur Klaerung' im Botem von 12. Juli, 1950 . . .," n.d. [August or September, 1950] (in the files of the Commission for Church Affairs, Escola Fritz Kliewer, Witmarsum, Paraná).

[12]The competitive nature of the musical program was expressed by one leader as follows: "We plan to develop such an excellent musical program that all the young people of worth from the other denomination will be attracted to join us."

religious competition is focused on the improvement of the respective denominational programs. Some respondents told the present writer that they hope in the future it will be possible to cooperate in projects such as the development of a Mennonite orchestra.

Conflict

Mennonites have always been known as a peace-loving group. Their traditional pacifism and refusal to participate in government have been based on a literalistic interpretation of Biblical passages. It would be a grave mistake, however, to assume that such ideological positions have reduced the role of conflict in their society. An examination of the history of Mennonites in Russia, Europe, North America, and South America reveals that conflict frequently has played as important a role as cooperation in the fortunes of the group. In Brazil since 1935 internal conflict has been directly involved in the major changes in their traditional social organization. The present writer sought to acquire a basic knowledge of the history of the Mennonites in Brazil through the reading of written minutes of community, church, and cooperative assemblies. Numerous informal discussions with various respondents, including religious and community leaders, farmers, laboring men, businessmen, and young people indicated that most of them think of their recent history in terms of the periods of acute conflict. The reading of the above-mentioned minutes also strengthened this impression. In general, the most detailed ones are those which deal with accusations, charges, and countercharges concerning a variety of topics. The

principal conflicts have involved religious problems, but they usually are mixed with social and economic concerns, and complicated by acute interpersonal animosities between a small number of formal leaders.

Internal Community Conflict

There is no need to relate all the specific conflicts which have taken place in Mennonite society. Our concern here is to note the role of this social process in the changes which have occurred in the group's social organization. The principal conflict was a socioreligious one in which an elder of the Mennonite Brethren Church in Santa Catarina severely criticized the community-based cooperative organization. He attacked the leaders of the community government, as well as the officers of the cooperative, as men who were trying to establish a dictatorship based on European models. (See Chapter II.) Since most of the Mennonites were intrigued with German National Socialism in the late 1930's, this charge made in the late 1940's was especially offensive. The colony was divided between those who favored the status quo and those who wished to adopt a free-enterprise system. Inasmuch as the division was closely correlated with religious affiliation, it became impossible to distinguish clearly the socioeconomic from the socio-religious factors. This conflict began in the early 1940's, was encouraged by the arrival of the Mennonite Brethren minister from North America (mentioned earlier), and finally produced a schism in the cooperative religious organization in 1948. In that year the Mennonite Brethren Church began to hold separate public meetings, published its legal statutes in the official state paper, and withdrew

from the Commission for Church Affairs.[13] By 1950 the group which wanted to establish a new colony without an all-encompassing cooperative had begun to move to Rio Grande do Sul. This open conflict which involved religious, economic, social, and personal factors had thus destroyed the basis for cooperation within the Witmarsum colony, and led to its disintegration. Its collapse resulted in the establishment of the new Witmarsum colony in Paraná, and introduced into this state for the first time (in 1951) a formal Mennonite community organization.

In Witmarsum, Paraná, a similar conflict developed between the colony leadership and a minority opposition group which demanded individual freedom, including land titles, and the privilege of managing all their particular economic affairs. The former colony found no solution to its internal dissensions, and broke up as a result. The latter one was able to arrive at a compromise which ended the period of acute conflict. In 1964 a new conflict developed because of the decision to build a pasteurization plant in the colony. Once again this central issue has involved other factors of a religious, social, and personal nature.[14]

It thus appears that internal conflicts within the colonies have led to the breakdown of traditional Mennonite community organization.

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[13] See "Stellungnahme," op. cit.; the constitution of the Mennonite Brethren Church of Witmarsum, Santa Catarina, was published in the Diário Official do Estado de Santa Catarina, 13 de maio, 1948, p. 4. (Copy in the files of the Commission for Church Affairs, Escola Fritz Kliewer, Witmarsum, Paraná.)

[14] The president of the Witmarsum cooperative has served in this capacity since 1949. This is evidence of his unusual abilities; it also suggests that he has had ample opportunity to stimulate the formation of a determined opposition group, and such is the case.

Some religious leaders noted that the traditional cooperative associations no longer were utilized by the Russian Mennonites in North America, and asserted that they need not continue in Brazil. Others simply wanted to be free from what they considered to be a dictatorial community leadership. As a result, communal organizations and mutual-aid activities once considered part of the Mennonite way of life now have disappeared in Paraná. If a substantial number of the members of the Witmarsum cooperative withdraw in the near future, as some anticipate doing, its future as a modified substitute of community government may well be placed in jeopardy.

Religious conflicts in the late 1950's in the Paraná communities (similar to those which took place in Santa Catarina) led to the separation in 1958 of the joint General Conference-Mennonite Brethren congregations in Vila Guaíra and Witmarsum; there was also a split within the Mennonite Brethren Church in Boqueirão in 1960. Since that time, however, religious conflict has played an insignificant role within the Mennonite locality groups.

Intercommunity Conflict

As noted in other places in this dissertation, the move of numerous families from the Mennonite colonies in Santa Catarina to Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão during the 1930's and 1940's engendered much resentment on the part of those who remained. The inhabitants of the communities in the two states were involved in charges and countercharges involving a variety of issues, of which two are of social significance: (1) the establishment of urban and rurban settlements; and (2) the dilution of milk with water by the Mennonite dairymen in the Curitiba area.

The establishment of settlements in and near Curitiba was seen by the colonists in Santa Catarina as a rejection of the traditional position which considered rural life as the proper one for Mennonites. The city was viewed as a threat to most of the values and norms of their way of life. They said that the move to the city was to invite the annihilation of Mennonitism as they knew it; urban residence would destroy their social organization, and in all probability, their religious life as well. The distinctive features of their religious, othnic, and racial background would be lost if they mixed with the outside world. Such a prospect was said to be too high a price to pay for the improvement of economic conditions which residence in the Curitiba area appeared to assure.[15]

The families who moved to Curitiba frequently were considered to be extreme individualists who lacked loyalty to the group and who valued personal gain above the defense of true Mennonitism. In 1938 a young school teacher who had left Witmarsum wrote an article listing the obvious problems of living in the isolated rural colony and defending those who left. This effort drew highly critical replies from a variety of readers of the Mennonite paper.[16] Many of the apprehensions expressed by the inhabitants of the colonies in Santa Catarina also were shared by

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[15]Evidence of this position may be found in Peter Klassen, "Die Stadt," Die Bruecke, IV, 7-8 (Juli-August, 1935), 2; and Johannes Janzen, "Bericht von der Siedlung Auhagen in Brasilien," Mennonitische Blaetter, LXXXIV, 11 (November, 1937), 82-83.

[16]See Hans Klassen, "Zwei Sorten Abwanderer," Die Neue Bruecke, I, 4 (April, 1938), 3. The replies involve the most heated debate which the present writer found in Mennonite publications in Brazil. See Die Neue Bruecke, I, 5 (Mai, 1938), 6 and 7; 6 (Juni, 1938), 7; and 7-8 (Juli-August, 1938), 6-9.

visitors from North America who viewed the migration to Paraná with grave concern.[17] With the passage of time, the colonists in Santa Catarina saw what they considered to be evidence of the breakdown of true Mennonitism in the Paraná settlements. It included a "corruption" of business practices and the rapid accommodation of the younger generation to Brazilian society. (See Chapter XI.)

The Mennonites in Paraná, however, countered by noting the severe internal conflicts in the original colonies, and observed that the new settlements were spared such disputes between religious and community leaders by the absence of a community organization in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão. These conflicts, which persisted from 1935 until 1950, became less acute after the arrival of the Witmarsum colonists in Paraná.

The dairymen in Boqueirão soon discovered that their pure milk often would not pass inspection when it was taken to Curitiba. For many years the only test made was one to determine the acidity of the product, and numerous respondents told the present writer that the inspectors, as well as other non-Mennonite dairymen, encouraged them to lower the acidity of the milk by adding some water to it. Most of the Mennonites disapproved of such a practice, but in time they accepted it as the course forced on them by the state's method of testing milk. Once adopted, this practice tended to generate excesses on the part of some producers. This "water-in-the-milk problem" became the focus of a

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[17] See Harold S. Bender, "With the Mennonite Refugees in Brazil and Paraguay: A Personal Narrative," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XIII, 1 (January, 1939), 59-70; and Walter Quiring, Im Schweisse Deines Angesichts: Ein mennonitisches Bilderbuch (Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers, Ltd., 1953), pp. 108-109, 119, and 121.

bitter conflict between the Mennonites in Santa Catarina and those in the Curitiba area.[18] Before the Witmarsum colonists moved from Santa Catarina to Paraná, they signed a pledge in which they promised not to adulterate the milk with water.[19] This practice was mentioned by leaders in Witmarsum as one of the most important reasons why they could not participate in good conscience in the Curitiba milk producers' association. The most incriminating accusation leveled against the Witmarsum colonists who joined the Curitiba association in 1964 was that they were breaking their promise to avoid this practice "which can only be called a conscious fraud, and ought to be condemned as iniquitous."[20] This conflict has involved most of the Mennonites in Paraná at one time or another because of their tendency to take sides in the dispute. One minister who was encouraged to express in public his personal opinion on the matter found that his condemnation of the practice made it impossible for him to continue his services in the community. This 30-year dispute has not been resolved, and it appears likely that it will continue in the future. As a result, members of the several communities appear to gain satisfaction from noting the ethical inconsistencies of their brethren in the other locality groups, which in effect demonstrates that none of them are free

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[18] An analogous situation developed with respect to Mennonite businessmen in Curitiba who were accused of adopting "Brazilian business practices." This was less important, however, because of the smaller number of persons involved.

[19] "Gemeindespruch der Siedlerversammlung," Witmarsum, Santa Catarina, March 27, 1951 (in the files of the Cooperativa Mista Agro-pecuária Witmarsum, Ltda., Witmarsum, Paraná).

[20] Declaration of the General Assembly, April 25, 1964, Cooperativa Mista Agro-Pecuária Witmarsum, Ltda., Witmarsum, Paraná (in the files of the Cooperative).

of all questionable business practices. The present writer concludes that these conflicts have produced a cynicism which has hastened the adoption of individualistic norms and practices.

Intergenerational Conflict

It is a commonplace to note that conflict exists between the older and younger members of a society, especially of one which largely consists of first- and second-generation immigrants. Data already have been given which demonstrate the significant difference in various attitudes between parents and students. (See Chapter IX.) It is noteworthy that Mennonites who had moved to Curitiba from Santa Catarina, and were accused of adopting the city as their new home, now became engaged in a "rural-urban" conflict with their children. In this dispute fathers and mothers tried to keep their offspring, especially the boys, from participating in the life of the city. They pointed out all the dangers of mixing with non-Mennonites, especially those in the city, and were alarmed to see how rapidly their children adopted Brazilian ideas and customs. Numerous respondents observed that parents attempted to keep their children separated from the "world," but in many cases they were unsuccessful. One said that the traditional Mennonite separation from the world basically was geographical and residence in the Curitiba area demonstrated that many of the youth had no internal sense of nonconformity to worldly behavior. This conflict has subsided in Vila Guaíra, and an unusually high number of persons aged 30 to 49 are not members of any Mennonite church; some of them also are lost to Mennonite society. But the rest have achieved some sort of equilibrium

between their Mennonite-German heritage and Brazilian culture. Many of the younger adults, and especially the youth, have become comfortably bicultural.

In Boqueirão there is evidence that this conflict about the optimal point of accommodation to Brazilian society and culture is still taking place between parents and youth. As expected, Witmarsum displays the least amount of parent-youth conflict about interaction with non-Mennonite society, due to its continued isolation. In addition, many parents in this colony are permissive about activities such as dancing, drinking, and smoking which also reduces conflict. In answer to the question "What is your attitude toward today's youth?" the percentages of respondents with favorable attitudes are: Witmarsum, 68; Guarituba, 50; Boqueirão, 39; and Vila Guaíra, 33. The relatively high proportion of favorable responses in Witmarsum appears to represent a genuine appreciation of the youth, whose general behavior apparently has improved greatly over that of the youth in Santa Catarina. The low proportions of favorable responses in Boqueirão and Vila Guaíra probably are an evidence of the serious intergenerational conflicts which have taken place in these communities. In the latter community the unfavorable attitudes were more varied than in the other three. Whereas some respondents said that the young people were too wild or too interested in non-Mennonite activities, many said they have become too docile. These responses probably are an indication of the increased heterogeneity of the adult Mennonites in Vila Guaíra.

The traditional lack of warm parent-child relations (see Chapter VIII) in Mennonite society encourages intergenerational conflict. Informal discussions with young people convinced the present writer that increased understanding between parents and children must await a change in parental roles. Families seldom play together, nor do they sit together in public meetings. The traditional practice of serving parents and young people separately during the coffee hour which follows weddings and many special religious meetings is superficial evidence of the profound social and psychological gap between the generations.[21] One observer suggests that the austere parent-child relations are part of a general coolness and reservation (also a prominent feature of husband-wife relations) which is found in much Mennonite interaction. This engenders a backwardness, timidity, and frustration in young people which is carried into adult life and passed on to the next generation.[22] It also may be an important factor in the prevalence of conflict in Mennonite communities, where the frustration and discord involved in intergenerational associations are carried over into intra- and intercommunity relationships.

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[21]The present writer attended a special parent-youth "banquet" which was sponsored by the young people's society of one of the Mennonite churches. He was surprised to see very few parents there, and they all sat together at one end of the banquet table. One young person commented that this situation was a visible demonstration of the parent-youth problem in his community--too few parents really interested in the young peoples' activities, and too much of a separation between the two generations.

[22]See H. Hack, Die Kolonisation der Mennoniten im Paraguayischen Chaco (Amsterdam: Koenigliches Tropeninstitut, Abteilung fuer kulturelle und physische Anthropologie, Nr. 65 [1961]), pp. 185-186.

Social Effects of Conflict

A review of conflict in Mennonite society in Santa Catarina and Paraná indicates that some of the effects have been beneficial whereas others have been detrimental to the effective functioning of the group's social organization. Perhaps the most unfortunate effect has been the degeneration of many of the disputes into petty personal strife in which formal leaders have humiliated each other in public. Some leaders were accused of unethical civil and personal behavior, although no positive evidence could be shown to prove the charges. Respect for religious and community leadership declined, and effective controls over some of the members of the society became difficult or impossible. Some persons left the group in disgust, and others refuse to join the church because of past strife.

Nevertheless, much of the conflict has brought about numerous changes in social organization which had to be made sooner or later in Brazil. The breakdown of the village commune was caused by Brazilian legal conditions, but internal conflict hastened its occurrence. Religious disputes stimulated the separation of the General Conference and Mennonite Brethren denominations, which in turn has permitted their members to have greater respect and tolerance for each other. There is evidence that selective cooperation, especially in musical activities, soon will be prevalent in the three principal Mennonite communities. The loss of prestige and authority of formal leaders has encouraged the shift to a more democratic social organization with greater freedom for the individual. In addition, the parent-youth conflicts have

engendered parental willingness to accept cultural pluralism as the solution to Mennonite relations with the larger society. There is no evidence that the conflicts have destroyed the strong we-feeling of most of the group's members. Thus the Mennonites in Paraná, as was true of those in Russia, have made progress in adjusting to their social and cultural environment by means of conflicts which, after a time, are at least partially resolved.

Summary

The Mennonites in Paraná have undergone numerous changes in their way of life. Many of these changes involve a significant decrease in contractual cooperation of an economic, religious, and social nature. It appears that noncontractual cooperation also has declined in importance as economic sufficiency and individualism have increased in the group. Competition is now especially important in the production of dairy products in Witmarsum and Boqueirão, but in most other cases, competitive interaction tends to be rivalrous in nature. This is true of religious and business relations between groups and individuals within and between the several Mennonite locality groups.

Much of the significant change in social organization of the group under consideration has been made possible by means of conflict. The disputes between communities, between religious bodies, and between generations have encouraged a more rapid adjustment to the new environmental conditions of Brazilian society and culture. Conflict has played a major role in accelerating the shift from an authoritarian, group-oriented to a democratic, individual-oriented way of life in Paraná

Mennonite society. It is the present writer's conclusion that conflict in the group has had more beneficial than detrimental effects on the Mennonites' attempt to adjust to Brazilian society.

CHAPTER XI

ACCOMMODATION, ACCULTURATION, AND ASSIMILATION

Inasmuch as the German-speaking Mennonites in Brazil are immigrants, as well as members of a religious and ethnic minority group, a consideration of the social processes of accommodation, acculturation, and assimilation are of special interest in understanding the causes and direction of change among them. The purpose of this chapter is to note the roles and the effects of these processes in the general trend of sociocultural change in the group under consideration.

Accommodation

An analysis of accommodation in Paraná Mennonite society involves the study of

> . . . any social process, whether conscious or unconscious, which consists in the alteration of functional relations between personalities and groups so as to avoid, reduce or eliminate conflict and to promote reciprocal adjustment . . .; and the social relationships which result from this process.[1]

Materials presented in earlier chapters of this manuscript amply illustrate the importance of accommodation among the Mennonites in Santa Catarina and in Paraná. The numerous changes in social and cultural patterns which they have made in Brazil usually may be traced to their desire to reduce conflict within their group or between themselves and outsiders.

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[1] Henry Pratt Fairchild (ed.), Dictionary of Sociology (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944), p. 2.

Inter-Mennonite Accommodation

Shortly after their arrival in Brazil the Mennonites were involved in adjusting to the novel situation of having a community organization which lacked legal authority, and a cooperative association whose leaders exercised monopolistic controls in the colonies. This led to adjustments in the patterns of subordination and superordination in community leadership and organization. When some of the group came to Paraná and established Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão, the accommodative process led to a complete rejection of any formal community organization in both communities, and to the establishment of a cooperative with more limited authority in Boqueirão. The separation of the two principal religious bodies (see Chapters IX and X) also represents an accommodative process which has greatly changed religious organization and practice in the Mennonite communities in Paraná. The decision to drop any further attempt at a communal colony organization in Witmarsum is one of the clearest examples of the accommodation of the majority of the members of that community to the demands of a minority which had the approval and support of Brazilian law. The development of sports clubs in two of the locality groups (Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão) also is an accommodation to the earlier conflicts between parents and youth over the tendency of young people to go to town for much of their recreational activities. In most of the above cases the accommodative process has led to compromise between conflicting elements in the group.

Accommodation to non-Mennonite Society and Culture

Most of the instances cited in the preceding section also involve an attempt on the part of this group to adjust to the requirements of the Brazilian social and cultural milieu in which it occupies a subordinate position. The breakdown of the Oberschulze System and the traditional cooperative associations, as well as the system of communal ownership of land, was necessitated by the legal situation in Brazil which guarantees freedom to the individual. The disintegration of these group-oriented patterns is due not simply to a minority within the group which desired a change, but to the inability of the majority to enforce all members to participate in the traditional way of life. Thus, much of the change in social organization in Mennonite society must be viewed as an accommodation to the democratic concept of individual freedom reflected in Brazilian law, as opposed to the traditional Mennonite concept of the freedom of the group as a whole to exercise strict social controls over each member.[2] It is the present writer's opinion that the loss of nonresistance (see Chapter IX) also should be considered an accommodation to the requirements of Brazilian law concerning military service.

One of the most important adjustments made by Mennonites in Paraná has been the approval of the school as the principal agency for the development of bicultural loyalties in the young people. Their acceptance of cultural pluralism appears to have been encouraged by the

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[2] A similar factor brought to an end many of the communal institutions of the Russian Mennonites in Canada. See E.K. Francis, In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 81-82.

unfortunate circumstances associated with the Brazilian nationalization program. When that program ended, Mennonites were happy to adjust to the government's requirements in order to regain control of their schools. The earlier conflicts were resolved by the acceptance of the accommodative solution of pluralism which is now popular in Paraná.

A personal acquaintance with a large number of Mennonite adults in Paraná has convinced the present writer that most of the phenomena which are considered as evidences of acculturation, or even partial assimilation, actually are stimulated by their desire to reduce conflict between themselves and Brazilians, or by the exigencies of effective performance in their occupations. The naturalization of many Mennonites engaged in industry or commerce is an illustration of this. Thus, of the three processes considered in this chapter, accommodation appears to have played the most important role in the study group since its arrival in Brazil in 1930.

Acculturation

The concept of acculturation has had a wide range of uses in the course of its development.[3] In recent years, however, this concept which is borrowed from cultural anthropology has come to have a more stable usage among many sociologists. It refers to "the changes in culture that result from the continued contact of individuals, groups, or entire societies with the bearers of or the content of other cultures."[4]

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[3]See Melville J. Herskovits, Acculturation: The Study of Culture Change (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1938), pp. 3-12.

[4]Joseph S. Vandiver, "Accommodation, Assimilation, and Acculturation," in Rural Sociology: An Analysis of Contemporary Rural Life, Alvin L. Bertrand (ed.) (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1958), p. 330.

This process is often bilateral, although it is not surprising that an immigrant group usually accepts more of the cultural traits of the "host society" than vice versa. This has been the case with the Mennonites, due largely to the smallness of their group, and their relatively late arrival in Brazil. That is, the members of the larger society considered the small group of Mennonite immigrants to be subordinate to themselves; and thus there was little reason for Brazilians to adjust to them. Also, most of the cultural traits which the Mennonites possessed had been brought to Brazil much earlier by other German-speaking immigrants.[5] The distinctive Mennonite cultural patterns proved inappropriate in Brazil, and many of them have been dropped by the group itself. Thus, the acculturation of Mennonites in Brazil involves principally the process and results of their adoption of cultural patterns from other individuals, groups or societies with whom they have been in contact in that country.[6]

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[5]The most significant contributions of German-speaking immigrants to southern Brazil included the social system with the family-sized farm as its core, and a system of agriculture which was far superior to that practiced by Brazilian caboclos. See Arthur Ramos, Introdução à antropologia brasileira (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Editôra da Casa do Estudante do Brasil, 1947), II, 219; T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (3rd ed.; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), pp. 231, 235, 386, and 413; and Wilson Martins, Um Brasil diferente: ensaio sôbre fenómenos de aculturação no Paraná (São Paulo: Editôra Anhembí, Ltda., 1955), p. 204.

[6]It would be inaccurate, however, to suggest that Mennonites have not contributed cultural traits to persons or groups in contact with them. In Santa Catarina the colonists of German and Italian background who bought their properties have continued to farm in a manner similar to that employed by the Mennonites (a simple type of the advanced plow system of agriculture) and they have continued the operations of several mills which were built by Mennonites. The município itself continues to bear the name of Witmarsum. In the Curitiba area Mennonites were instrumental in the development of the specialized type of dairy farming employed in the rurban areas surrounding the city (see Chapter VI).

Evidences of Acculturation

One of the most important instances of acculturation of the Mennonites in Brazil is their adoption of the line village as the usual form of settlement in Santa Catarina and Paraná (see Chapter VI). This enabled them to continue their rich social life which was a prominent feature of the Mennonite agricultural village in Russia. Another is the current practice of civil and religious marriage of all couples (in Russia the religious ceremony was sufficient). Also, the usual type of property arrangement is that of joint ownership by man and wife. In addition, many adults have registered their given names em cartório with Brazilianized spellings. All of these instances represent an attempt to adapt to the new conditions which the Mennonites encountered in Brazil, and are accommodative in nature.

Numerous studies of immigrants in Brazil, and in other countries, note that most changes in cultural patterns during the early period of residence involve those which do not threaten the identity of the group.[7] The following acculturative changes are of this extrinsic sort: (1) the use of Portuguese for communication with outsiders; (2) the adoption of numerous "Brazilian" foods, especially rice and beans, as well as churrasco (barbecued meat); (3) Brazilian patterns of dress, and styles of architecture for homes and churches; (4) the use of Brazilianized forms of common given names for children; (5) the adoption of Portuguese terms into High and Low German vocabularies; and (6) the hearty acceptance of soccer as the principal team-related sport.[8]

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[7] See, for example, Miltom M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 79.

[8] A substantial amount of literature has been published on the

As expected, acculturation is more advanced in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão than in Guarituba and Witmarsum, and is most evident in the younger generation. With rare exceptions, all persons under 30 years of age can speak Portuguese, although many of them (especially in Witmarsum) appear to be uncomfortable when using this language except in business relations. The present writer noted that many young persons prefer to speak Portuguese with anyone who can not speak Low German. A large portion of adolescents find it difficult to converse in High German inasmuch as this language is now limited, in their experience, largely to religious meetings. The numerous changes in patterns of behavior related to domestic, educational, governmental and religious systems (see Chapters VIII and IX) are further evidences of this social process.

A noteworthy evidence of acculturation in Mennonite society is the adoption of "Brazilian business practices" by those persons who participate in commercial activities. Several businessmen told the present writer that they have been obliged to adopt the accepted system of keeping two sets of books, and of maintaining a studied ignorance of actual income or worth of their businesses. This procedure is justified on the grounds that it is the only way to interact with government

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acculturation and assimilation of immigrants in Brazil. Most pertinent to the present discussion are the numerous publications by Emilio Willems. See for example, his summary presentation, "Immigrants and Their Assimilation in Brazil," in Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent, T. Lynn Smith and Alexander Marchant (eds.) (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), pp. 209-225, as well as the items included in the article's bibliography. Perhaps most valuable is Emilio Willems, A aculturação dos alemães no Brasil (São Paulo: Companhia Editôra Nacional, 1946), passim.

inspectors who assume that every businessman operates according to such methods.[9] Some of the Mennonite businessmen appear to have accepted the "Brazilian" methods so completely that there is now a concern on the part of many persons that it may be impossible to maintain high ethical standards. The acculturation of Mennonites probably has been more thorough in their adoption of "Brazilian" business behavior than in most other cases.

Military training is an important experience in the acculturation of many young men in the study group. Numerous conversations with some of these persons convinced the present writer that although they learned how to behave in Brazilian society as a result of their service there is little evidence that anything other than acculturation took place. That is, such persons appear to continue to consider themselves different from Brazilians, and some of them said that their close contacts with soldiers and officers confirmed their unfavorable impressions about Brazilians in general.

As noted earlier, most of the acculturation found in the Mennonite way of life is not to be interpreted as evidence of assimilation, because much of it is an effort to reduce or avoid conflict and to improve relations with the members of the larger outside society. "Indeed, cultural changes often produce, instead of assimilation, a need for

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[9] One factory owner commented that he understands the criticisms which Mennonites from other countries level against some of the business practices of their brethren in Brazil, but such persons obviously don't understand the situation in a "Latin" country. He insisted that complete compliance with revenue regulations is not expected by the government, and anyone who would behave as he might in Western Europe or North America soon would be bankrupt.

readjustment of relationships between the affected groups or societies--in short, accommodation."[10]

Assimilation

One of the most important questions which Mennonites ask about themselves, or their brethren in other countries, is whether they are being assimilated into the national society. Their explicit desire is to accommodate themselves to the general requirements of the "host society" without being absorbed by it. As used in this dissertation, assimilation is the psychosocial process whereby members of one sociocultural group are absorbed into another. It is a process of sociocultural fusion or blending, and the term is applied both to the process itself as well as to the condition which results from its operation. This social process is much broader in its scope than that of acculturation, and involves a willingness of both groups to become identified with each other. In the specific case studied here, the assimilation of the Mennonites in Paraná refers to their identification with and absorption into Brazilian society. Inasmuch as they are an immigrant group which has been in Brazil for less than 40 years, it is not surprising to discover that assimilation is far from complete and is taking place only in selected aspects of sociocultural phenomena.

A recent attempt to analyze the subprocesses, or variables, of assimilation has distinguished seven aspects as applied to immigrant and other minority groups.[11] These seven subprocesses of assimilation

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[10] Vandiver, op. cit., p. 332.

[11] See Gordon, op. cit., pp. 71-81.

are called: (1) cultural or behavioral (adoption of the cultural traits and behavior patterns of the "host society," usually called acculturation); (2) structural (large-scale entrance of the minority-group members into primary-group relationships with members of the "host society"); (3) marital (large-scale intermarriage, usually called amalgamation); (4) identificational (development of a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the larger society); (5) attitude receptional (absence of prejudice on the part of the "host society"); (6) behavioral receptional (absence of discrimination against the minority group); and (7) civic (absence of value and power conflict between the two groups). Although this paradigm is far from perfect, it indicates the many-faceted nature of assimilation.[12] It also is a useful outline for the discussion of the assimilation of a minority group into the national society.

As already indicated, much acculturation, or "cultural assimilation"--a usage which is becoming increasingly popular among sociologists in recent years--has taken place in Mennonite society. Frequently this is the first stage in the process of sociocultural fusion, although most Mennonite groups in the past have tended to achieve a "partial assimilation" which stops with this first step of the absorption process. Observers have long known that the adoption of cultural traits does not lead necessarily to social assimilation.[13] This may be due to the

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[12] A valuable analysis of the process of absorption of immigrants is that of S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants (London: Routledge and Kegan, Ltd., 1954), pp. 3-26.

[13] See, for example, Robert E. Park, "Assimilation, Social," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Edwin R.A. Seligman (ed.) (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), II, 282.

unwillingness of the larger society to accept the minority group (variables 5, 6, and 7 listed above) such as in the case of the American Negro, or to the desire of the minority group itself to remain distinct from the "host society," which has been the traditional position of most Mennonites.

Data on the visitation patterns and extent of contacts of Mennonites in Paraná with outsiders, as well as participation in voluntary organizations (see Chapter VII) indicate clearly that "structural assimilation" is very slight. It is the rare member of this group who participates in cliques, clubs, or other social associations made up predominately of Brazilians. Certainly there is no widespread entrance of Mennonites into such primary-group relationships with the larger society. Identification of the members of a minority group with the "host society" may be ascertained in terms of their attitudes toward it. Although the parents and students who responded to the Grice-Remmers scale (see Chapter IX) were almost evenly divided between those with favorable and those with unfavorable responses toward Brazilians, in no case did the present writer find a person who identified himself as a "Brazilian." In most instances a definite "we-they" dichotomy was apparent, especially in terms of the comments which many made as they read the items.[14] When Mennonites say that one of their number has become "Brazilianized," it carries a very derogatory connotation.[15]

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[14] In no case did a respondent object to the explicit dichotomy of the item, "Brazilians are far above my own group." Also, after reading the item, "Brazilians deserve much consideration from the rest of the world," numerous persons, usually with a smile on their faces, said, "Only in soccer."

[15] This term was used by friends of the present writer when they

Data on political participation (see Chapter VIII) suggest that most Mennonites have not been involved in "civic assimilation" to any great extent. Voting frequently is only an expression of their desire to obey the law. Also, there is a great difference in value orientations between Mennonites and Brazilians. The great emphasis on the virtues of manual labor, piety, honesty, frugality, and simplicity of life, which are still prominent features of Mennonites in Brazil, as well as their reticence to take an active interest in politics, indicate that they have not adopted typical Brazilian attitudes on these topics. The recent increase in emigration of Mennonites to North America (see Chapter V) is due partially to the disagreement of these persons with the sociopolitical conditions in Brazil. The smallness of the group under consideration means, of course, that the group as such must remain submissive to the existing situation, or seek to escape from it by migration.

Selected Indicators of Assimilation

An attempt to determine the extent of assimilation of Mennonites in Brazil probably may be done most effectively by examining the following four indicators: (1) the number of households which use Portuguese as the principal language in the home; (2) the amount of intermarriage; (3) the extent of conversion to other religions; and (4) the personal, internal identification of Mennonites with the "host society."

The tenacity with which German-speaking immigrant groups have retained their mother tongue in various parts of the world is well known.

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referred to deviants of their group who are now "lazy," "untrustworthy," living in consensual unions, or indulging in premarital sex relations.

In Brazil many German-Brazilians of the fifth and sixth generation continue to speak German habitually in the home. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that the Mennonites, who have been in Brazil less than 40 years, continue to use their distinctive dialect, along with High German, as their usual languages. The present writer found no Mennonite family which habitually uses Portuguese for domestic discourse. Some of the younger couples in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão reported that they often shift from Low German to Portuguese, but the former language is the more important one. Specific data are not available for all the married children from families of the study population, but at least 26 cases involve marriages with spouses who do not speak German, and thus presumably speak Portuguese in the home. None of these families, for obvious reasons, participate actively in Mennonite society in Paraná. Whereas these persons of Mennonite background certainly are being assimilated into Brazilian society, they no longer are considered to be Mennonites, and in some instances appear to be marginal persons. Thus, although all second-generation Mennonites can speak Portuguese (an evidence of acculturation), they do not use it habitually in the home (an indication of assimilation).

Marriage outside the group always was very infrequent on the part of Russian Mennonites, and it continues to be so among their descendants in Latin America, with the exception of those in Brazil. The present writer sought to determine the extent of this phenomenon in the study population, but the data he secured are minimal inasmuch as he neglected to ascertain whether the married children who left their parents' com-

munities are involved in mixed marriages or not. Nevertheless, the data which are available indicate that intermarriage is much more frequent now than it was before 1950. Of a total of 182 marriages in Brazil involving persons of the first generation,[16] 29 (15.9 per cent) were intermarriages; whereas in a total of 194 unions of persons of the second generation, 52 (26.8 per cent) are mixed. This increase in intermarriage is statistically significant,[17] and it strongly suggests that marital assimilation is progressing in the study group at a rate which is similar to that observed among immigrant groups in metropolitan centers.[18] As expected, the highest incidence of intermarriage is in Vila Guaíra, where it accounts for 51 per cent of all unions of second-generation Mennonites. In addition, almost one-half of these cases are with persons of non-German background. In the other three communities intermarriage with "Brazilians" is rare. These data indicate that marriage with outsiders is taking place to an unexpected degree in this

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[16]The phrase "first generation" is used in this manuscript to denote members of the study population who were born before the arrival of the group in Brazil in 1930; the "second generation" consists of persons born in Brazil of Mennonite parentage. With rare exceptions, the marriages of first-generation Mennonites took place before 1950, whereas those of the second generation have occurred since 1950. On the usage of "first generation" and "second generation," see John T. Zadrozny, Dictionary of Social Science (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1959), pp. 122 and 297.

[17]Chi-square = 5.937 $p < .02$; $Q = .318$.

[18]It is interesting to note that intermarriage rates for first-generation immigrants in New York City are lower than those of the Mennonites in Paraná. Among Puerto Ricans the rates vary from 4 to 8 per cent. Data for all immigrants in that city during the period from 1908 to 1912, calculated by Drachsler, indicated a rate among those of the first generation of approximately 10 per cent. Rates for second-generation persons vary from 27 to 33 per cent, which are similar to those among the Paraná Mennonites. See Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, "Intermarriage of Puerto Ricans in New York City," American Journal of Sociology, LXXI, 4 (January, 1966), 398.

group of Russian Mennonites. It may be traced principally to their loss of isolation from the outside world, and to increased contacts in school and on the job which permit more young people to meet non-Mennonites than was true before the group settled in Paraná. This is especially important for Mennonite girls. Females account for 17 per cent of the intermarriages in the first generation, whereas they are involved in 33 per cent of those in the second generation. Also, the increased contacts with persons of Luso-Brazilian background are reflected in the significant increase in marriages with such persons. Only 10 per cent of the mixed marriages of first-generation Mennonites involved "Brazilians," whereas 44 per cent of those of the second generation are of this type.[19] Nevertheless, marriage with outsiders continues to be more common with persons of a German culture, and in such cases there appears to be little dissatisfaction on the part of Mennonite parents or religious leaders. Such unions seldom involve the loss of the Mennonite to his own society, whereas almost all of the "Mennonite-Brazilian" marriages remove the spouse of Mennonite background from meaningful interaction with his ethnic group.

Many Mennonites are involved in a process of partial assimilation into the evangelical German-Brazilian subsociety of southern Brazil. Evidences of this social process include: (1) the relatively high rate of intermarriage of Mennonites with German-Brazilians of the Protestant faith; (2) the relatively frequent contacts between some families and

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[19] Of a total of 29 mixed marriages involving members of the first generation, 3 are with Luso-Brazilians; of a total of 52 in the second generation, 23 are with Luso-Brazilians. (Chi-square = 7.96, $p < .01$; $Q = .746$.)

individuals from the two groups; and (3) the regular formal visits in Mennonite churches of ministers as well as musical and dramatic groups from Lutheran and other similar churches and schools. The manifest function of these contacts is to permit broader fellowship with other German-speaking Protestants. A latent function may be the Mennonites' desire to associate with a group which has resisted consistently the process of assimilation into the Luso-Brazilian sociocultural milieu.[20] This interaction strongly suggests that many Paraná Mennonites are convinced that a loss of their cultural heritage ultimately would mean loss of their religious life as well. Few appear to believe that sociocultural blending with the society made up of German-Brazilians ultimately may mean the end to their traditional Anabaptist religious heritage as surely as would assimilation into Luso-Brazilian society.

Conversion of Mennonites in Paraná to Roman Catholicism is very rare. The present writer is aware of fewer than ten such cases in the entire group under consideration, which totals more than 2,500 persons. A larger number have become members of the Lutheran church, or of a Lutheran-oriented denomination called Gemeinschaft fuer Entschiedenes Christentum, but no specific data are available. However, the number probably is less than 30. It is likely that less than 2 per cent of the persons of Mennonite background in Paraná have converted to another religious faith, whereas one-fourth of them have no formal religious affiliation. Although the data on religious conversion leave much to be desired, it is clear that very little has taken place.

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[20] See Emilio Willems, "Assimilation of German Immigrants in Brazil," Sociology and Social Research, XXV, 2 (November-December, 1940), 128-130.

A fourth indicator of assimilation is a sense of personal identification on the part of a member of a minority or immigrant group with the larger society.[21] As noted earlier, there is little evidence that such a psychological process has taken place in the minds of most Mennonites with respect to Luso-Brazilian society. Numerous conversations with various persons convinced the present writer that most of them have a sense of attachment to Brazil only as a political entity. That is, Mennonites frequently point out that they are ready to participate in the defense of their "new fatherland" as soldiers, but they do not identify themselves with the general social structure of Brazilian society, nor with Brazilians as persons. For most adults in the group such identification is limited to Mennonites, or is related to German society and to Germans or German-Brazilians.[22] Among the youth, however, there appears to be a double focus of identification; Germany is decreasing, whereas Brazil is increasing in importance. Nevertheless, the primary identification of adults and youth continues to be that of their own ethnic group, except for those few who have renounced their allegiance to Mennonitism.[23]

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[21] "The planes on which assimilation takes place are the psychological and sociocultural: the process is thus essentially internal. The immigrant will have become assimilated when he feels that he belongs in the new society." (Italics are the authors'.) A.H. Neiva and M. Diégues Jr., "The Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants in Brazil," in The Cultural Integration of Immigrants, W.D. Borrie et al. ("UNESCO Series: Population and Culture," No. 4; Paris: UNESCO, 1959), p. 197.

[22] One man of Mennonite ancestry, who no longer considers himself to be a Mennonite, responded to the present writer's query concerning his group of reference as follows: "At heart I am German; since I live in Brazil I do whatever is necessary to make life here less troublesome."

[23] An official of the Mennonite Central Committee, in appealing for governmental aid to assist Mennonite refugees from Russia to go to South

Selected Factors Affecting Acculturation and Assimilation of Paraná Mennonites

Numerous investigators have found that certain factors help, whereas others hinder the integration and absorption of immigrant and other minority groups into the predominant sociocultural milieu of a region or country. The present writer found that similar elements have been important in the group being studied in this dissertation. The more important ones may be reduced to the following categories: (1) the ecological situation and its attendant characteristics; (2) the social organization of the immigrant group; and (3) the effective official policy toward immigrants.

The Ecological Situation and Attendant Features

The physical and social conditions of the areas in which the Mennonites have resided in Brazil have influenced greatly the rates of acculturation and assimilation among them. In Santa Catarina the lack of social contacts with outsiders, combined with geographical isolation from centers of Brazilian life, permitted the Mennonites to maintain closed communities which reduced even acculturation to a minimum, for there was

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America after World War II, replied to the charges that these persons were "Germans" in the following words:

> It is the considered opinion of the writer and other Mennonites abroad that these Mennonite refugees are neither 'Russian' nor 'German' . . . . To the Mennonite the concept of nationality is somewhat foreign . . .. To these people the concept 'Mennonite' is not confined to religion alone nor does it connote a church or church membership; it means infinitely more than that, embracing all that which culture, language, tradition, and a distinctive way of life implies. The only parallel of this is the classic example of the Jews . . ..

Peter Dyck, cited by Frank H. Epp, Mennonite Exodus (Altona, Manitoba: D.W. Friesen & Sons, Ltd., 1962), p. 375.

no need to adapt to an already established Brazilian society. Their few neighbors were principally German-Brazilians, so that whatever interchange took place did not involve a significant adoption of Brazilian traits or behavior patterns.[24] Upon arrival in Paraná, however, they were thrust into frequent contact with Brazilians. This was especially true in Vila Guaíra, where acculturation and assimilation have taken place to such an extent that some of its inhabitants expressed concern to the present writer as to their ability to maintain their distinctive ethnic identity.

The type of native-born persons who live in the same area with immigrants, and the accompanying attitudes of superiority or inferiority on the part of both groups, have an important effect on the social processes being considered. In Santa Catarina the few Brazilians whom the colonists met were caboclos whose way of life was decidedly inferior to that of the Mennonites. Consequently, they considered themselves superior to Brazilians and were not interested in adopting most of the latter's cultural traits, nor in being integrated into their society. Although subordinate to the embracing national society, the Mennonite group in Santa Catarina was the dominant and superior one in the locality in which it was located. This situation slowed the process of adjustment to the Brazilian way of life.[25] After their arrival in Paraná, Menno-

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[24]Willems frequently has noted the retarding influence of geographical and social isolation on the assimilation of German-Brazilians; see, for example, Emilio Willems, Assimilação e populações marginais no Brasil (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940), pp. 73-87.

[25]An excellent example of the differential effect of superior-inferior attitudes between immigrants and native-born persons is the

nites came into contact with persons of greater sociocultural attainments, which apparently has changed their earlier attitude of complete superiority to Brazilians and their culture. This more favorable attitude toward Brazilians of evident socioeconomic achievement has encouraged a greater degree of acculturation and partial assimilation of the Mennonites in Paraná than was the case in Santa Catarina.

Closely related to the above factor is that of the frequency and nature of contacts between Mennonites and Brazilians. In Paraná such interaction is much more common than it was in Santa Catarina, and many more of the contacts are those with persons of an equal status. This is the case especially of the students in non-Mennonite educational institutions and of workers in commercial and industrial establishments in Curitiba. It is not surprising to discover, therefore, that these segments of the study population demonstrate considerable acculturation in their speech and dress, and that most of the intermarriage with Brazilians takes place among persons in these groups.

Industrialization and urbanization are evident processes in Paraná, and their effect has been that of stimulating the acculturation and assimilation of immigrant and minority groups in the state.[26] The Menno-

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following: the Germans who lived among caboclos in the coastal areas of southern Brazil were very slow to adopt Brazilian traits, whereas those who lived among Brazilians who rode horses, and thus were looked upon as superior persons by the Germans, tended to become acculturated more rapidly and to "show a higher degree of assimilation than the German settlers of the lowlands." Emilio Willems, "Acculturation and the Horse Complex Among German Brazilians," American Anthropologist, XLVI, 2 (April-June, 1944), Part I, 155.

[26] In Paraná, German immigrants and German-Brazilians have displayed a definite tendency to move to the city. See Martins, op. cit., pp. 147, 186.

nites who live and work in Curitiba are caught up in these processes, and the increased contacts with non-Mennonites in the office, shop, and factory appear to encourage their acculturation and assimilation. Many members of the study group are involved, therefore, in the sociocultural "homogenization," a term utilized by T. Lynn Smith, which is taking place in the area in which they live. As the differences between the urban and rurban Mennonites and outsiders become less pronounced, it is likely that more complete integration of the former into the culture of the latter will take place. Thus, the move of the Mennonites from Santa Catarina to the Curitiba area is one of the most important factors in their recent tendency to be acculturated and partially assimilated into the Brazilian way of life. Their relatively rapid rate of integration since arrival in Paraná suggests that within another generation they will achieve a level of identification with the national society more similar to that of their brethren in North America than of those elsewhere in Latin America.

Mennonite Social Organization

In general the Mennonites' nucleated institutions, as well as other traditional forms of patterned behavior, have played explicit and implicit roles in retarding acculturation and assimilation. This was the case in Russia, and in North and South America. In recent years, however, the Mennonite family, school, church, and other aspects of the group's social organization have been less successful in retarding the integration of many Mennonites in the national society and culture. This is especially evident in the United States and Canada, and now is noticeable among the Paraná Mennonites.

The closely knit family has long been an effective factor in retarding the assimilation of immigrants. The values and norms of behavior of the Mennonite family as well as the status and roles of the sexes and of family members are quite different from those of the typical Brazilian family. These differences definitely retard the acculturation and assimilation of Mennonites in Brazil.[27] In spite of its continued resistance to assimilation, the Mennonite family may assist in the acculturation of its members. For example, radios and television sets now bring many aspects of Brazilian culture directly into the home. More than three-fourths (78.4 per cent) of all Mennonite households possess a radio; the proportion varies from 51 per cent in Witmarsum to 90 per cent in Vila Guaíra and Guarituba. Almost 7 per cent of all those in the Curitiba area (Guarituba, Boqueirão, and Vila Guaíra) now possess a television set, and the proportion is rising rapidly. The acculturative effects of these instruments of mass communication may be expected to be very great, and cultural differences will become increasingly difficult to maintain. Since April, 1964, local German-language radio programs have been discontinued, which means that a greater amount of Portuguese now is heard on the radios in Mennonite homes in Paraná.

Two other important deterrents to assimilation of German-speaking immigrants in Brazil are middle-class status, and German Protestantism, which has tended to equate the retention of German culture with loyalty to Christian faith and practice.[28] As indicated in Chapter VII, Mennonites

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[27] Similar differences are noted for German-speaking immigrants in general; see Emilio Willems, "Some Aspects of Cultural Conflict and Acculturation in Southern Rural Brazil," Rural Sociology, VII, 4 (December, 1942), 380.

[28] See, for example, Willems, "Immigrants and Their Assimilation in Brazil," p. 220.

continue to be predominately a middle-class group. Maintenance of satisfactory social status within the group is not dependent on acceptance into Brazilian social circles; indeed, a Mennonite would lose status by entering into close interaction with outsiders. The ethnically oriented Protestant religion of the Mennonites effectively retards their assimilation in Brazil. They continue to use German as the exclusive language of religious expression and public worship, which emphasizes the separation from Brazilians which most Mennonites desire to maintain in religion and other aspects of their way of life where ethnic identity is considered important.

In the past the Mennonite schools and recreational associations have retarded the assimilation of the younger generation. As noted elsewhere in this manuscript, these institutions now play an active role in the induction of children and young people into the pluralistic society of Paraná. Nevertheless, this role is a limited one as far as assimilation is concerned. It may be considered best as that of achieving a satisfactory level of acculturation in Paraná in order to assure a "comfortable biculturalism."

The continued use of a distinctive dialect in almost all interaction between Mennonites is another important factor which deters their complete acculturation and assimilation. As long as they are able to maintain their own language it is unlikely that either process will become as extensive among the Mennonites of Brazil as among their brethren in the United States. At present there is no evidence that the Low German dialect will be discarded in the near future by the Mennonites of Paraná.

Brazilian Policy toward Immigrant and Ethnic Groups

The Mennonites arrived in Brazil only a few years before the inauguration of the well-known nationalization program of the late 1930's and early 1940's. Inasmuch as most of them did not learn Portuguese in their isolated colonies in Santa Catarina, the prohibition of German in public assemblies forced the temporary discontinuance of public religious services, as well as other community meetings. Finally they received permission to use their Low German dialect for public meetings. This period from 1938 to 1945 involved great difficulties of adjustment for the recently arrived immigrants.[29] Instead of encouraging their assimilation into Brazilian society, it produced a resistance to the program of forced Brazilianization, and resulted in the accommodative solution of the use of Low German in public meetings.[30]

Since 1945, however, Brazilian policy toward immigrant and ethnic groups has become much more liberal than it had been during World War II.[31] This is especially evident in Paraná where governmental officials, and the population in general, appear to have accepted pluralism as the

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[29] See Peter Klassen, "Mennonites in Brazil," Mennonite Life, II, 1 (January, 1947), 42.

[30] Brazilian observers readily admit that "the results of certain Brazilianization measures from 1937 onwards [were] the opposite of what was expected." Neiva and Diégues Jr., "The Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants in Brazil," p. 208.

[31] Article 38 of the regulations of the National Institute of Immigration and Settlement states: "The aim of immigrant assimilation shall be the adjustment of the settler to Brazilian life, particularly by familiarizing him with the language of the country and adapting him to Brazilian customs and usages but without prejudice to such of his existing cultural values as do not conflict with the traditional bases of the Brazilian social structure." Cited in Neiva and Diégues Jr.,

preferable policy. Two competent Brazilian scholars note that forced external conformity of immigrants to national patterns does not lead to organic and productive integration. Thus it is necessary to encourage "the emergence of a state of mind favourable to assimilation; namely, flexibility . . . ."[32] In Paraná this has led to a pluralistic situation, and at present numerous ethnic groups maintain their own churches, schools, publications, and associations. The Mennonites enjoy these same privileges, which have reduced to insignificance both competition and conflict with outside groups. Also, the absence of overt prejudice or discrimination toward Mennonites on the part of the members of the larger society has reduced conscious efforts to resist being integrated into the economic, civic, and political spheres of Brazilian life.

This prevailing policy which favors pluralism permits assimilation to take place at a rate which does not cause severe demoralization of the members of an ethnic group. It permits the Mennonites to maintain their sense of identity and eliminates the need for special separatist emphases. At the same time, however, it appears to encourage the assimilation of the younger generation to the extent that they may participate in the standard activities and responsibilities of the general civic life without conscious conflict between the demands of the two sociocultural worlds in which they live. Numerous Brazilians, as well as Mennonites, told the present writer that the current pluralistic

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"The Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants in Brazil," p. 233. Thus it is clear that the goal is that of acculturation, rather than forced assimilation. In Paraná this is the effective policy, and it appears that the Mennonites, as well as other ethnic groups, willingly cooperate with it.

[32] Neiva and Diégues Jr., "The Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants in Brazil," p. 198.

situation in Paraná is "cultural democracy," and both groups believe that their particular goals are achieved better in this manner than by means of programs which engender resistance and conflict.

The present writer found very few cases of "marginal men" in Mennonite society in Paraná. The government's policy, and the cultural pluralism which it has encouraged, probably are the principal elements in the explanation of this fact. Brazilian officials, as well as Mennonite parents and school teachers, encourage children to accept the good in both cultures. In practice this means maintaining a basic loyalty to Mennonite life while becoming integrated into those areas of Brazilian society and culture which do not threaten the fundamental premises of ethnic identity.[33] Only a few deviants who now reject their Mennonite heritage, yet continue to move among Mennonite acquaintances, appear to be persons who stand on the margins of two cultural worlds but are fully members of neither. It is the present writer's opinion that the current pluralistic situation, and its accompanying "biculturalism" on the part of most second-generation Mennonites, ultimately will lead to more assimilation than might be expected to take place by forced programs of Brazilianization.[34]

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[33] A Mennonite educator approvingly quoted a Brazilian official who told him, "We can never justify the attempt of our government during the second World War to nationalize by force German and other ethnic groups. Only when each one remains true to its way of life and its character, and is not assimilated, can it contribute most effectively to the development of our country." Peter Pauls, Jr. "Hoher Besuch in Witmarsum," Bibel und Pflug, XII, 20 (16. Oktober, 1965), 10.

[34] Recently a professor and ex-governor of Paraná noted that the cultural diversification in his state permits ethnic groups to feel "perfectly at home in its close association, until finally--little by little earlier, and rapidly today--they are being incorporated into

Summary

Inasmuch as the Mennonites have been in Brazil only since 1930, the social processes of accommodation, acculturation, and assimilation are of special interest in relation to our consideration of sociocultural change among them. At present accommodation is the most important of the three processes, for much of the change in the group is due to a conscious effort on the part of its members to adjust themselves to the requirements of the national society and culture so as to avoid or reduce conflict. The numerous innovations in language, dress, diet, and social organization are evidence of acculturation among the Mennonites. Assimilation appears to be slight and to be taking place rather slowly. This is due largely to the Mennonites' desire to maintain their distinctive ethnic identity, rather than to prejudice or discrimination on the part of Brazilians. Although the Mennonites as a group do not display any marked tendency toward assimilation, an unexpectedly large proportion of persons are involved in intermarriages, and the incidence of mixed marriages with "Brazilians" is increasing significantly among persons of the second generation. Most of them, however, discontinue meaningful social ties with Mennonites.

The more important factors which have retarded the acculturation and assimilation of Mennonites in Brazil include: (1) their initial geographical and social isolation from Brazilians during their residence

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the all-embracing society of the Brazilian nation." Munhoz da Rocha, "O sociólogo na correnteza política," Journal of Inter-American Studies, VIII, 1 (January, 1966), 90.

in Santa Catarina; (2) their generally unfavorable attitudes concerning Brazilians and their way of life; (3) their predominant middle-class status; (4) their strong sense of ethnic identity, and the maintenance of their own churches, schools, publications, associations, and a distinctive dialect; and (5) their closely knit families whose values and behavior patterns differ greatly from those of typical Brazilian families.

The more important factors which have encouraged acculturation and limited assimilation include: (1) the migration to urban and rurban areas; (2) the increased contacts of Mennonite students, workers, and businessmen with Brazilians having a social status equal to their own; (3) the involvement of many Mennonites in the social processes of industrialization and urbanization, in which they now participate with Brazilians in economic and other activities; (4) the fairly new role of the Mennonite school as an agent for the development of "comfortable biculturalism" on the part of the students; and (5) the pluralistic policy of the Brazilian government, and its endorsement by the general population of Paraná.

PART V

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this brief chapter is: (1) to note the more important findings of the present writer's research on the society and culture of the Mennonites in Paraná, Brazil; (2) to state the general conclusions of the study; and (3) to make some suggestions concerning future research on the Mennonites of Brazil. In order to keep the summary statements as close as possible to the data on which they are based, they are placed at the end of the respective chapters. The reader is directed to them for a brief recapitulation of the dissertation.

Inasmuch as no previous sociological analysis had been made of the Mennonites in Brazil, the present writer decided that his study required a broad base of inquiry and concern. Thus, the foregoing chapters have ranged from historical backgrounds, through demographic analyses and a consideration of the group's nucleated institutions, to the roles of the principal social processes in Paraná Mennonite society. In addition to the usual "library research," a great amount of participant observation in Paraná was necessary in order to gain an understanding of the development and the current status of the social realities in this ethnic group of immigrants and their children. Most of the data presented in this manuscript were secured in the following ways: (1) an enumerative survey of the Mennonite population in Paraná;

(2) the administration of a questionnaire to 90 per cent of the students in the group who are enrolled in non-Mennonite educational institutions above the ginásio level; (3) formal interviews with a 20 per cent sample of all heads of households; (4) extended interviews with religious, educational, and community leaders; and (5) participant observation during a period of eleven months.

The four communities involved in this study may be placed on a rural-urban continuum. Witmarsum is a strictly rural colony and Vila Guaíra is an urban community. Boqueirão definitely occupies an intermediate position between the above two and deserves to be designated as a rurban settlement. The disintegrating community of Guarituba also may be placed in an intermediate rurban position, but its smallness makes difficult the interpretation of data for it. In general the differences between the communities are related closely to expected rural-urban variations, but in some cases the data deviate from this pattern. The probable causes of such variations range from the Russian regional backgrounds of the immigrants to the differences in the emphases of the churches and the presence of North American Mennonites who now reside permanently in some of the communities.

A Summary of the Principal Findings

The following findings may be considered as a minimal list of the more important ones.

1. The traditional Oberschulze system of community organization and local government has been discarded in all four of the communities.

2. In comparison with the situation in the Mennonite communities in Russia, or even those in Santa Catarina, Brazil, cooperative associations and mutual-aid activities in the communities studied have declined greatly in number and in relative importance.

3. Communal ownership of land has been discontinued in Witmarsum, Paraná, the only Mennonite community in Brazil which instituted this traditional system.

4. The Paraná Mennonites no longer live in closed communities, except in Witmarsum, and the majority of the group does not consider this type of settlement a requisite for the maintenance of the Mennonite way of life.

5. The traditional, group-oriented expressions of the doctrines of nonresistance and of nonconformity to the world have been abandoned.

6. The position of elder (bishop) has been discontinued by the Mennonite Brethren Church and (due to special historical circumstances) by the Free Evangelical Mennonite Church.

7. Although all the Mennonite immigrants to Brazil once were rural in residence, now only one-fourth of the study population continues to be such. About one-half live in two rurban settlements.

8. When they lived in Santa Catarina, about 90 per cent of all heads of the Mennonite households were farmers; in Paraná the figure is down to 44 per cent.

9. Occupational heterogeneity is increasing in Boqueirão and Vila Guaíra. This is taking place as a growing proportion of persons enter the laboring class, and as diversification takes place within the middle class. Social stratification appears to be increasing in these two communities.

10. Demographic trends in the entire group are those usually associated with urbanization, and they are especially evident in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão. They include declines in fertility, size of family, and age at first marriage, and an increase in the level of educational attainment.

11. To a statistically significant degree students exhibit attitudes toward religion, authoritarianism, and traditional, rural-oriented Mennonite values that are more liberal than those of parents in the study population. Also, students rank three factors (Christian belief, German culture, and Mennonite heritage) in the choice of marriage partners in a manner that is statistically different from that of the parents. Students tend to rank "Believer" higher, whereas parents tend to rank "German" and "Mennonite" higher.

12. Parents, and the group as a whole, now exercise less control over courtship and mate selection than was the case in Russia or in Santa Catarina, Brazil.

13. The rate of intermarriage is exceptionally high for Russian Mennonites. This is especially the case in Vila Guaíra. It also is increasing to a statistically significant degree among members of the second generation. Whereas 16 per cent of the marriages of first-generation Mennonites are mixed, 27 per cent of those of the second generation are such, and in Vila Guaíra the figure is 51 per cent.

14. More than one-fourth of all persons aged 20 years and over have no formal religious affiliation; in Vila Guaíra this proportion is one-third.

15. Mennonites are now a minority (45 per cent) of the membership of the Boqueirão consumers cooperative, which is considered to be a Mennonite association and which is the owner of the community's social hall. This cooperative also makes substantial contributions to the maintenance and the expansion of the Mennonite school in the community.

16. Cooperation and conflict once played more important roles in the Mennonite communities than they now do. Increased acceptance of individualistic norms and patterns of behavior has reduced the relative importance of both these social processes in Paraná Mennonite society.

17. Internal conflict, combined with the concept of individual freedom reflected in Brazilian law (and accepted by a growing number of Mennonites), has hastened the shift from a group-oriented way of life to an individualistic one.

18. The acculturation of the Mennonites in Brazil is well advanced, especially in the three communities located in and around Curitiba, but assimilation of the group still is slight. Most members of the second generation appear to be comfortably bicultural, and the Mennonite schools are important agents in this development of cultural pluralism within the group.

19. The system of agriculture practiced by Mennonite farmers (advanced plow culture) permits them to maintain high levels of living, in spite of the fact that those in Boqueirão and Guarituba have properties which are less than ten acres in size.

Conclusions

The principal thesis of this dissertation is that the Mennonites in Paraná are changing from an authoritarian, group-oriented way of life to one which is more democratic and individualistic. A great amount of evidence is presented which strongly supports this hypothesis, and it may be considered as one of the principal conclusions of the present study. (See Findings 1-6, 12, 16, and 17.) This change, which is evident in numerous areas of the group's way of life, is stimulating so many modifications that the general features of Paraná Mennonite society and culture are becoming more similar to those of their brethren in North America rather than to those of the Russian Mennonites elsewhere in Latin America.

The process of urbanization is quite evident among the Mennonites of Paraná. (See Findings 7-10.) The diversification of occupations and activities which this involves, and the increasing heterogeneity of attitudes and norms of behavior which this process stimulates, probably are some of the most important factors encouraging sociocultural change in the group. As expected, this process is most evident in Vila Guaíra but it also is well advanced in the large rurban settlement of Boqueirão.

Secularization of the Mennonite society and culture also is taking place. In the past much of the group's social organization was considered to be part of an indivisible spiritual heritage which needed to be preserved intact. Church and society were interrelated so closely that some observers spoke of it as a quasi-theocracy. In Paraná, as in all Brazil, this situation has disintegrated, and the group is moving rapidly from a "sacred society" to one which is increasingly secular.

Secularization is accompanying individualization and urbanization, and all three are most advanced in Vila Guaíra and Boqueirão, as compared with Guarituba and Witmarsum. (See Findings 1-4, and 13-15.)

The self-concept of Mennonites in Paraná appears to be changing. As the three processes mentioned above become more widespread, and as many of the traditional sociocultural features of the Russian Mennonites disappear in Paraná, Mennonitism is beginning to be thought of by some of them as basically a denominational concept. For such persons ethnic and cultural characteristics continue to be important, but they are secondary to the religious factor. This change in self-concept is to be seen among the young people in terms of their choice of a marriage partner. (See Finding 11.)

Mennonite students who attend Brazilian schools of college and university level appear to be one of the most important stimuli and agents of change in the group studied here. Their propensity to be innovators in Mennonite society probably is related to their increased contacts with well-educated Brazilians, and to their different attitudes and values as compared with adults in the study group. (See Finding 11.) As an increasing number of young people enter such schools, the rate and extent of change may be expected to increase in this group.

Acculturation of the Mennonites in Paraná is extensive, but in the past it has been due principally to a desire to avoid conflict with the "host society." It appears, however, that in the future acculturation and assimilation will be motivated increasingly by the desire to become absorbed into certain parts of Brazilian society. The students who become

teachers in state schools, as well as other types of professional persons, probably will foster more extensive acculturation and assimilation of their group into the pluralistic society of Paraná. At present, and probably for the foreseeable future, the assimilation of Mennonites involves their absorption into the subsociety which is made up of Protestant German-Brazilians, rather than that of Luso-Brazilians, whether Catholic or Protestant. Those who enter the latter society, usually through intermarriage, are lost to the group in which they were born.

For about two decades (1930-1950) the Mennonites in Brazil received little attention from their brethren in North America. In recent years, however, there have been more frequent and meaningful contacts between them. Most of the younger religious and educational leaders now read and speak English, which enables them to communicate more effectively with the largest group of Mennonites in the world. Consequently, as these younger men accept greater responsibilities in the social organization of their group, the ties with their respective denominations in North America are being strengthened. It appears that the period of isolation of the Brazilian Mennonites from their northern brethren--who also are involved in the processes of individualization, urbanization, and secularization in democratic countries--is coming to a close. Although the members of the younger generation may become Brazilianized in the secular aspects of their way of life, they probably will conform increasingly to international Mennonitism in their religious beliefs, organization, and patterns of behavior.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study involves the Mennonites in the state of Paraná, or about two-thirds of all those in Brazil. Its general conclusions, however, probably are applicable to all German-speaking Mennonites in that country, for the present writer knows of no evidence which suggests that those who live in Rio Grande do Sul or in São Paulo have been more successful in preserving their traditional way of life than those in Paraná. Nevertheless, a comparison of Colônia Nova, the Mennonite colony in Rio Grande do Sul, with Witmarsum, Paraná, would provide a valuable opportunity to note the variations, and their causes, in the accommodation, acculturation, and assimilation of the Brazilian Mennonites who continue to live in rural, closed colonies. In Colônia Nova, for example, the scattered farmstead pattern of settlement has been adopted.

An analysis of the assimilation process among the Mennonites who reside in the city of São Paulo would shed light on their relative effectiveness in maintaining their ethnic identity in an urban metropolis. It also would permit a comparison of this process with that among the Mennonites who reside in Curitiba. A study of the role of the Mennonite Home in São Paulo in the accommodation and acculturation of the unmarried girls who work in the paulista capital would be another fruitful area of investigation. Also, the role of these girls as innovators after their return to Mennonite society might be studied for theoretical and practical reasons.

The present writer hopes that more detailed analysis of many areas of Mennonite social organization will be done in the future. Comparative

studies of the family among the Russian Mennonites in Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Mexico, Canada, and the United States would aid in an understanding of the role of this nucleated institution in the acculturation and assimilation of Mennonites in these countries. In 1975, or shortly thereafter, another analysis should be made of Mennonite society in Paraná. The data presented in this manuscript could serve as a factual basis for a more exact determination of the rate and extent of sociocultural change from 1965 to 1975. It is the present writer's opinion that a great amount of innovation and change will take place among the Paraná Mennonites during this decade.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

FORMS USED IN THE CENSUS OF PARANÁ MENNONITES

A-1 Family Record Card

KARTEI
DER MENNONITEN IN BRASILIEN

I. ..... WOHNSITZ .....

II. N.° ..... DATUM .....

III. NAMEN	GEBOREN TAG	MONAT	JAHR	ORT	GETAUFT TAG	MONAT	JAHR	ORT	GEMEINDE-ZUGEHÖRIGKEIT	GESTORBEN TAG	MONAT	JAHR	ORT
1													
2													
3													
4													
5													
6													
7													
8													
9													
10													
11													
12													

IV. EINGEWANDERT: DATUM .....
AUS (ADRESSE) .....
.....

V. STAATSANGEHOERIGKEIT
.....

VI. BERUF
.....

VII. EHESCHLIESSUNG

1. ..... 19.....
2. ..... 19.....
3. ..... 19.....

ORT

1. .....
2. .....
3. .....

VIII. NAMEN DER ELTERN

1. VATER .....
MUTTER .....
GEB. .....

2. VATER .....
MUTTER .....
GEB. .....

IX. PERSONENZHAL

DATUM	MAENNL.	WEIBL.	ZUSAM
AM ..... 19....			
AM ..... 19....			
AM ..... 19....			
AM ..... 19....			
AM ..... 19....			
AM ..... 19....			
AM ..... 19....			
AM ..... 19....			

X. SCHULBESUCH

1. ..... JAHRE
2. ..... "
3. ..... "
4. ..... "
5. ..... "
6. ..... "
7. ..... JAHRE
8. ..... "
9. ..... "
10. ..... "
11. ..... "
12. ..... "

(Note: The pagination of the various forms in all the appendices is not the same as that of those used in the field research, inasmuch as the latter were mimeographed on paper of legal size.)

A-2 Schedule for Supplementary Information

SCHAETZUNG DER MENNONITEN VON PARANÁ

Jahrgang 1964 Verantwortlich: Prof. R.H Minnich

NAME DER FAMILIE _____

1. Familienangaben .

____ Gesamtzahl der Familienmitglieder (einschliessend Tote).

____ Personenzahl in der Wohnung.

Bitte folgende Daten ueber jedes Familienmitglied, das ueber 10 Jahre alt ist, auch derjenigen, die zur Zeit nicht hier Wohnhaft sind, zu liefern.

Vorname	Beruf	Ort

Wenn an dieser Stelle nicht genug Platz ist, bitte auf die Rueckseite schreiben.

BITTE, BEACHTEN SIE!

Bitte, alles auszufuellen. Falls Sie eines oder das andere der erwaehnten Sachen nicht haben, bezeichnen Sie es bitte mit einer Null auf der freien Stelle. Im Uebrigen fuellen Sie alles genau nach Moeglichkeiten aus.

2. Bestandaufnahme folgender Dinge

____ Fahrrad	____ Gasherd	____ Radio, einschliessend Transistor
____ Fernsehapparat (TV)	____ Kuehlschrank	
____ Fotoapparat	____ Plattenspieler	____ Tonbandgeraet

3. Musikinstrumente

____ Floete	____ Klavier	____ Violine
____ Gitarre	____ Mandoline	____ Zieharmonika
____ Harmonium	____ Mundharmonika	____ Andere _____

4. Motorisierte Fahrzeuge

____ Motorrad, einschliessend Lambretta, usw.	____ Kombi, hauptsaechlich fuer geschaeftlichen Gebrauch
____ Personenwagen	____ Lastwagen (camioneta, usw.)
____ Kombi, hauptsaechlich fuer Personentransport	____ Andere _____

WENN SIE EIN LANDGUT HABEN, DANN FUELLEN SIE BITTE DIE ZWEITE SEITE AUS.

Seite 2 LANDWIRTSCHAFTLICHER TEIL

5. Wieviel Land besitzen Sie? ____ Hektare

6. Wieviel Land haben Sie unter Kultur? (In Hektaren, mehr oder weniger.)

____ Heu	____ Kartoffeln
____ Gruenfutter	____ Suesskartoffeln
____ Kuhrueben	____ Mais
____ Kunstweide	____ Kuerbis
____ Zuckerrohr	____ Andere _____

7. Fruchtbaeume

____ Aepfel	____ Pfirsiche
____ Birnen	____ Pflaumen
____ Orangen	____ Andere _____

8. Tiere

____	Kuehe	____	Pferde
____	Rinder	____	Schweine
____	Kaelber	____	Huehner, Gaense, usw.
____	Stiere	____	Andere _____

9. Geraete fuer Landwirtschaft -- Maschinenpark

Pferde-		Traktor-			
____	Pflug	____	Pflug	____	Haeckselmaschine
____	Egge	____	Egge	____	Melkmaschine
____	Wagen	____	Anhaenger	____	Feststehender Motor
____	Pflanzmaschine			____	Traktor
____	Saehmaschine			____	Andere _____
					_____

VIELEN DANK FUER DIE MITHILFE!

A-3 Instruction Form for Student Assistants

INFORMATION UM DIE FORMULARE AUSZUFUELLEN

1. Bitte, immer sehr deutlich zu schreiben.

2. Setzen Sie, bitte, Ihren Namen auf das obere linke Ende.

Betreffend der "Kartei"

1. In der ersten Abteilung tragen Sie, bitte, den Namen des Hausvaters ein (es kann eine Frau sein).

2. Abteilung II, bitte, freilassen.

3. Tragen Sie, bitte, in Abteilung III alle Namen ein, einschliessend, die schon gestorben sind. Wenn die Personen sich nicht des Tages oder des Monates erinnern, so lassen Sie es aus. Aber die genaue Jahreszahl wird verlangt. Setzen Sie, bitte, ein "X" vor den Namen aller verheirateten Kinder.

4. In der Abteilung IV setzen Sie, bitte, nicht nur den internationalen Wohnungswechsel ein, sondern auch irgendeinen Wechsel von einer Ortschaft zur anderen, z.B.: Omsk, Russland → 1930 Santa Catarina → 1940 Boqueirão II → 1955 Vila Guaíra.

5. Wenn der Hausvater keine Nationalitaet hat, bitte, "staatenlos" in Abteilung V setzen.

6. In Abteilung VI, bitte, nur den Beruf des Hausvaters anzugeben.

7. In Abteilung VII, bitte, alle Eheschliessungen des Hausvaters anzugeben. Sollte die Frau mehr als einmal geheiratet haben, so, bitte, die Angaben in den linken Rand zu schreiben.

8. In Abteilung VIII, bitte, die Namen von den Eltern des Vaters bei Nummer 1 anzugeben, die der Mutter bei Nummer 2.

9. In Abteilung IX, bitte, nur die erste Linie auszufuellen.

10. In Abteilung X entspricht jede Nummer der Person dieser Nummer in Abteilung III. Fuer die, die nicht in der Schule waren, bitte, eine Null auf die freie Stelle zu setzen.

Betreffend des "Schaetzungsformulars"

1. Der Teil ueber den Beruf und den Ort jeder lebenden Person, die ueber zehn (10) Jahre alt ist, ist ausserst wichtig. Bitte, hier alle miteinschliessen -- Vater, Mutter, und alle Kinder, zum Beispiel:

Peter	Student (Maschinenbaukunst)	Curitiba
Maria	Studentin (Krankenpflege)	Porto Alegre
Sara	Dienstmaedchen	São Paulo
Hans	Landwirt	Boqueirão I

APPENDIX B

FORMS USED TO SECURE INFORMATION
FROM PARENTS AND STUDENTS

B-1 Parents' Schedule

FRAGEBOGEN UEBER GESAMMELTE GESICHTSPUNKTE
DES MENNONITISCHEN LEBENS IN PARANÁ

Jahrgang 1965 Verantwortlich: Prof. R.H. Minnich

Persoenliche Eigenheiten des Antwortgebers

1. Geschlecht: ___ Maennlich ___ Weiblich

2. Erreichtes Alter am Geburtstag 1965: _____ Jahre

3. Addresse: ___ Boqueirão-Xaxím ___ Guarituba

___ Curitiba-Vila Guaíra ___ Witmarsum

4. Staatsangehoerigkeit:

		Geboren	Naturalisiert
___	Staatenlos		
___	Brasilianische	___	___
___	Paraguayische	___	___
___	Deutsche	___	___
___	Andere (_____)	___	___

Setzen Sie, bitte, Nummer 1 fuer den Mann, Nummer 2 fuer die Frau, und 3, 4, usw. fuer die Kinder an die richtigen Stellen.

5. Ehestand ("Estado Civil")

___ Verheiratet
___ Witwer
___ Witwe
___ Nicht Verheiratet

Wenn verheiratet:

___ Gesetzlich und Kirchlich
___ Nur Kirchlich
___ Nur Gesetzlich
___ Andere _____

6. Schulbesuch: _____ Jahre

7. Wohnung: _____ Eigenes Haus _____ Mietswohnung

8. Gemeindezugehoerigkeit: ____ Keine ____ Ja; _____ Gemeinde

9. Hauptberuf: _____ Beruf des Vaters _____

10. Wenn Sie einen haben, Nebenberuf: _____

11. Hat Ihre Frau einen Nebenberuf?

____ Nein ____ Ja; welchen? _____ und

wieviele Stunden pro Woche? _____

12. Abonniert Ihre Familie irgendwelche Zeitungen oder Illustrierten?

____ Nein ____ Ja. Wieviele? _____ Namen: _____

_____

13. Haelt Ihre Familie regelmaessig Hausandacht?

____ Nein ____ Ja

14. Waehlen Sie, gewoenlicherweise?

____ Nein ____ Ja; zu welcher Art Wahlen, und fuer welche Partei, im allgemeinen?

____ Nationale Wahlen Partei _____
____ Staatswahlen Partei _____
____ Munizipale Wahlen Partei _____
____ Andere Wahlen: bitte, genau angeben:

15. Sind Sie Mitglied irgendeiner freiwilligen Organisationen (soziale, kulturelle, sport, usw.)?

____ Nein ____ Ja;

Name der Organisation	Funktion (Mitglied, Beamte)

16. Besuchen Sie regelmaessig die folgenden Personen?

Art von Personen	Haeufigkeit der Besuche			Hauptzweck der Besuche	
	Woechentlich oder mehr	2-mal pro Monat	Monatlich oder weniger	Freundschaft; Spaziergang	Geschaeft Beratung
Verwandte in dieser mennonitischen Gemeinschaft:					
Nachbarn					
Nicht-Nachbarn					
Nicht-Verwandte in dieser menn. Gemein.					
Nachbarn					
Nicht-Nachbarn					
Verwandte in anderen menn. Gemein. in Paraná					
Nicht-Verwandte in anderen menn. Gemein. in Paraná					
Nicht-Mennoniten in Paraná					
Mennoniten in anderen Staaten Brasiliens					

17. Gibt es in dieser mennonitischen Gemeinschaft bestimmte ungezwungene Zusammenkuenfte ("sobranyi")?

____ Nein ____ Ja; welche?

18. Ist es in dieser mennonitischen Gemeinschaft Brauch, dass Personen sich einander unentgeltlich aushelfen (gegenseitige Hilfeleistung oder Nachbarhilfe)?

____ Nein ____ Ja Zu welchen Angelegenheiten?

19. Wie oft besuchen Sie einen Gottesdienst?

____ Mindestens einmal pro Woche

____ Ungefaehr zweimal im Monat

____ Hauptsaechlich an wichtigen Gemeindefeiertagen

____ Fast niemals, oder niemals

20. Wie oft beten Sie?

____ Mindestens einmal pro Tag

____ Hauptsaechlich in Gottesdiensten

____ Hauptsaechlich wenn ich in Not bin

____ Fast niemals, oder niemals

FAMILIENFRAGEN

1. Wie alt sollten gewoehnlich Ihre Kinder sein um einen "Namorado" zu haben? _____ Jahre

2. An welchen Orten erlauben Sie Liebschaften (Namôros)?

____ Auf der Strasse ____ Bei Festen und Versammlungen

____ Zu Hause ____ An anderen Orten

3. Gibt es Personen, die eine Hochzeit verhinderen koennen?

____ Nein

____ Ja ____ Vater ____ Mutter ____ Verwandte

____ Pastor ____ Andere _____

4. Welchen Bildungsgrad sollten Ihre Kinder haben?

Soehne: _____

Toechter: _____

5. Auf welche Weise bestrafen Sie hauptsaechlich Ihre Kinder?

6. Gibt es, Ihrer Meinung nach, Konflikte zwischen Eltern u. Kindern?

_____ Nein

_____ Ja Wie hat sich dieser Konflikt geaeussert?

7. Was halten Sie von der heutigen Jugend dieser mennonitischen Gemeinschaft?

8. Geben Sie Ihren Kindern eine Gelegenheit etwas persoenlich zu unternehmen und zu leiten, waehrend sie noch zu Hause sind?

_____ Nein

_____ Ja Welche Art Unternehmen?

9. Wer wird hoechstwahrscheinlich Ihre Wirtschaft weiterfuehren?

____ Der aelteste Sohn ____ Der Mittlere ____ Der Juengste

____ Andere Moeglichkeiten _____

10. Im Fall dass ein Junge oder Maedchen Ihrer Familie eine Person, die nicht mennonitisch, glaeubig, und deutsch ist, heiraten wollten, wie wuerden Sie bei jedem der folgenden Moeglichkeiten in der Wahl vorziehen, A oder B (alle anderen Faktoren ausgeschlossen, wie z.B.: Schoenheit, Wohlstand, usw.)?

1. A. ___ Mennonit, Glaeubig, Nicht-Deutsch,
   ODER
   B. ___ Mennonit, Nicht-Glaeubig, Deutsch.

2. A. ___ Nicht-Mennonit, Glaeubig, Deutsch,
   ODER
   B. ___ Mennonit, Nicht-Glaeubig, Deutsch.

3. A. ___ Mennonit, Glaeubig, Nicht-Deutsch,
   ODER
   B. ___ Nicht-Mennonit, Glaeubig, Deutsch.

4. A. ____ Nicht-Mennonit, Nicht-Glaeubig, Deutsch,
   ODER
   B. ____ Nicht-Mennonit, Glaeubig, Nicht-Deutsch.

TEIL B

FRAGEBOGEN UEBER ALLGEMEINE MEINUNGEN

Anleitung

Dies ist nicht ein Examen der Intelligenz, und auch nicht der Information. Es gibt hier keine "richtigen" oder "falschen" Antworten. Die beste Antwort ist Ihre ehrliche und aufrichtige Meinung. Ohne Zweifel wird es bei jedem Punkt solche Personen geben, die damit uebereinstimmen, andere, die nicht uebereinstimmen, und schliesslich solche, die eine mehr oder weniger neutrale Stellung einnehmen. Und gerade dieses sucht man: wie teilt sich die "mennonitische Meinung" in den wichtigen Punkten die hier behandelt werden?

Es soll hier betont werden, dass die verantwortliche Person fuer diesen Fragebogen nicht unbedingt mit den Punkten uebereinstimmt oder nicht ueberinstimmt. Es sind hier eine Menge Gesichtspunkte enthalten, und jede Person wird mit einigen Punkten uebereinstimmen, mit anderen nicht, oder sie wird vielleicht eine mehr oder weniger neutrale Meinung ueber andere Punkte haben.

Wenn Sie die Punkte in Ruhe beantworten, wird es nicht mehr als 30 Minuten dauern, um alle zu beantworten.

UND BEACHTEN SIE, BITTE!

A. Jeden Punkt aufmerksam durchzulesen, und Ihre Antwort anzugeben, gemaess Ihrer ersten Reaktion oder Empfindung. Es ist nicht noeting, lange Zeit fuer jeden Punkt zu verwenden.

B. BITTE, JEDEN PUNKT ZU BEANTWORTEN.

C. Bitte, Ihre eigene Meinung zu aeussern, und nicht mit anderen ueber die Punkte zu reden.

D. Bitte, seien Sie so ehrlich und genau wie moeglich.

E. Bitte, zeichnen Sie Ihre persoenliche Reaktion auf jede der folgenden Aussagen mit einem Kreis um die Abkuerzung, gemaess der folgenden Tabelle:

GE - Ganz Einverstanden

E - Einverstanden

U - Unentschlossen

NE - Nicht Einverstanden

KF - Auf Keinen Fall

AUSSAGEN

1.	Der Mensch is gut, weil er einen goettlichen Funken in sich traegt.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
2.	Viele Personen gehen zur Kirche nur weil die Familie einen Druck auf sie ausuebt.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
3.	Deutschland mag ja nun nicht vollkommen sein, aber die Lebensweise Deutschlands ist wohl heute dem Ideal am naechsten.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
4.	Mit dem Fortschritt der Erziehung ist die Gemeinde daran den Grund zu verlieren.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
5.	Das Wichtigste, dass man den Kindern lehren sollte, ist unbedingter Gehorsam den Eltern gegenueber.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
6.	Die Religion sollte im Mittelpunkt des Lebens stehen.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
7.	Es muss eine Macht geben, die hoeher steht, als die der Menschen.	GE	E	U	NE	KF

8.	Es waere besser, wenn die Mennoniten als Gruppe auf dem Lande blieben.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
9.	Es gibt keinen Gott.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
10.	Solche Leute, die da meinen, dass ihre Gebete erhoert werden, taeuschen sich selbst.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
11.	Menschen beten wohl, aber eine Erhoerung erwarten sie nicht.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
12.	Sehr religioese Leute sind im allgemeinen sehr engherzig.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
13.	Die Gemeinde ist die allerwichtigste Ordnung in unserer heutigen Welt.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
14.	Heutzutage weiss man schon nicht mehr auf wen man sich noch verlassen kann.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
15.	Die Landflucht so vieler Mennoniten wird frueher oder spaeter der mennonitischen Lebensart in Brasilien ein Ende bereiten.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
16.	Es hat wenig Sinn an Regierungsbeamte zu schreiben, weil die sich in Wirklichkeit nicht fuer die Probleme des Durchschnittsmenchen interessieren.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
17.	Es gibt einen persoenlichen Gott, der alles um mich weiss.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
18.	Arbeiter-Vereinigungen ("Sindicatos dos Trabalhadores") sollten staerker werde, und mehr Einfluss auszuueben.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
19.	Der Glaube an ein ewiges Leben ist eine leere Hoffnung schwacher Leute.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
20.	Die Gemeinde hilft einem ehrlicher zu sein.	GE	E	U	NE	KF

21.	Die Regierung sollte die Kontrolle ueber die Geschaefte haben.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
22.	Mindestens ein Teil unseres Lebens wird von Gott bestimmt.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
23.	Leute, die nicht regelmaessig zur Kirche gehen, fuerhren im allgemeinen gewoehnlich ein Leben das nicht aufbauend ist.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
24.	Der Besuch des Gottesdienstes ist nutzlos.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
25.	Es ist viel besser auf dem Lande zu leben.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
26.	Trotzdem was auch einige Menschen sagen, wird doch das Los des Durchschnittsmenschen schlimmer statt besser.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
27.	Solche Maenner wie Alfried Krupp und Henry Ford, die alle Konkurenz auf dem Wege zum Erfolg ueberstanden haben, sind vorbildlich und nachahmenswert fuer die junge Generation von heute.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
28.	Die meisten Leute lesen die Bibel, weil man sie immer gelehrt hat.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
29.	Im Hinblick auf die Zukunft waere es eigentlich nicht recht, dass mehr Kinder zur Welt gebracht wuerden.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
30.	Meistens gehen die Leute in die Kirche, um mit ihren Freunden zusammenzusein.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
31.	Eine gewisse religioese Anschauung ist noetig, um eine vollstaendige reife Lebensansicht zu erreichen.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
32.	Die Stadt ist kein guter Aufenthalt fuer mennonitische Jugend, es sei denn um eine Ausbildung zu erhalten.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
33.	Kein vernuenftiger Mann kann eine Frau respektieren, die vor der Heirat geschlechtlichen Verkehr gehabt hat.	GE	E	U	NE	KF

34.	Gemeindezugehoerigkeit ist fast wesentlich, um ein Leben zu fuehren das wirklich auf der Hoehe ist.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
35.	Es gibt zwei Arten von Menschen auf der Welt--die Schwachen und die Starken.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
36.	Das Gefaengnis ist eine zu gelinde Strafe fuer Geschlechts-Kriminale; solche sollten oeffentliche Pruegel-strafen, oder eine noch schlimmere Strafe erhalten.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
37.	Allgemeinen genommen, ist vollstaendige wirtschaftliche Sicherheit von Uebel; die meisten Menschen wuerden nicht arbeiten, wenn sich nicht Geld fuer Nahrung und Obdach brauchten.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
38.	Heutzutage lebt man von der Hand in den Mund, und macht sich keine Sorgen um den naechsten Tag.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
39.	Grosse Familien sind kleinen vorzuziehen.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
40.	Das "Leben nach dem Tod" ist eine grundlose Auffassung.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
41.	Die Gemeinde ist ein machtvolles Instrument, um individuelle und soziale Gerechtigkeit zu foerdern.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
42.	Irgendein guter Leiter sollte mit seinen Untertanen strenge umgehen, damit sie ihm mit Hochachtung begegnen.	GE	E	U	NE	KF
43.	Der Besuch des Gottesdienstes traegt nicht dazu bei, dass man geistlich aufgerichtet wird.	GE	E	U	NE	KF

EINE LISTE ABSTUFENDER AUSSAGEN FUER DIE MEINUNGSMESSUNG
EINER BESTIMMTEN GRUPPE GEGENUEBER

Redigiert von Dr. H.H. Remmers

Es folgt eine Liste von Aussagen ueber Brasilianer. Stellen Sie, bitte, ein "X" vor jede der Aussagen mit denen Sie uebereinstimmen.

___ 1. Auf Brasilianer kann man sich, als auf ehrliche Buerger, verlassen.

___ 2. Die Brasilianer sind meiner Gruppe weit vor.

___ 3. Ich sehe es als ein Vorrecht an, mit Brasilianer verkehren zu duerfen.

___ 4. Brasilianer verdienen das Ansehen der ganzen Welt.

___ 5. Brasilianer werden ohne weiteres von irgendeiner Volksgruppe geachtet.

___ 6. Brasilianer sind schnell von Begriff (leichtlernig).

___ 7. Die Brasilianer sind ein gottesfuerchtiges Volk.

___ 8. Die Brasilianer haben ein grosses Ehrwuerdigkeitsgefuehl.

___ 9. Die Brasilianer sind sehr ruehrselig ("emocional").

___ 10. Sie sind aussergewoehnlich stoltz auf sich selbst.

___ 11. Die Brasilianer sind aberglaeubisch.

___ 12. Sie sind zu nachsichtich gegen sich selbst.

___ 13. Sie machen nicht einen angenehmen Eindruck auf mich.

___ 14. Die Brasilianer sind mir nicht sympatisch.

___ 15. Die Brasilianer sind unhoeflich.

___ 16. Sie gehoeren zu einer niedrigen Volksschicht.

___ 17. Die Brasilianer sind schwachsinnig.

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(Erlaubnis fuer Nachdruck erhalten)

B-2 Students' Questionnaire

FRAGEBOGEN FUER STUDENTEN

Folgendes ist nicht ein Test. Es handelt sich hier in erster Linie um Ihre persoenlichen Meinungen.

Sie werden gebeten an einer Forschung ueber Stellungnahme der Studenten zu einigen wichtigen Fragen teilzunehmen.

Der Wert dieser Forschung haengt davon ab, dass Sie jede Frage frei und aufrichtig beantworten. Bitte, jede Frage so gut wie eben moeglich und ganz ohne Hemmungen zu beantworten. Die Resultate werden nur von Herrn Professor Herbert Minnich analysiert und verarbeitet. Auch moechten Sie, bitte, mit niemandem ueber diese Fragen sprechen, bis die anderen Studenten ebenfalls die Fragen beantwortet haben.

TEIL A

Die folgenden Fragen betreffen Ihre persoenlichen Eigenheiten. Sie Werden gestellt mit der Absicht, die Antworten verschiedenartiger Studenten zu vergleichen. Zeichnen Sie ein "X" an die freie Stelle, die Ihrer Antwort am besten entspricht.

1. Wo wohnen Sie?

___ Boqueirão-Xaxím ___ Guarituba

___ Curitiba-Vila Guaíra ___ Witmarsum

2. Erreichtes Alter am Geburtstag 1965: _____ Jahre

3. Geschlecht: _____ Maennlich _____ Weiblich

4. In welcher Klasse sind Sie, und was studieren Sie?

____ Ginásio

____ Colégio: ___ 1° Ano ___ 2° Ano ___ 3° Ano

_____ Científico _____ Normal

_____ Clássico _____ Química Industrial

_____ Contador _____ Andere: _____

_____ Universidade: ___ 1° ou 2° ___ 3° ou 4° ___ 5° ou 6°

_____ Faculdade de Medicina _____ Ciências Econômicas

_____ Escola de Química _____ Direito

_____ Faculdade de Filosofia: (Curso _____)

_____ Andere _____

5. Welchen Schulbildungsgrad besitzen Ihre Eltern?

Vater: _____ Jahre Mutter: _____ Jahre

6. Beabsichtigen Sie die Universitaet zu besuchen?

_____ Ich bin schon auf der Universitaet

_____ Ja

_____ Nein

_____ Ich weiss nicht

7. Wie oft besuchen Sie einen Gottesdienst?

_____ Mindestens einmal pro Woche

_____ Ungefaehr zweimal im Monat

_____ Hauptsaechlich an wichtigen Gemeindefeiertagen

_____ Fast niemals, oder niemals

8. Wie oft beten Sie?

___ Mindestens einmal pro Tag

___ Hauptsaechlich in Gottesdiensten

___ Hauptsaechlich wenn ich in Not bin

___ Fast niemals, oder niemals

9. Sind Sie Gemeindeglied?

___ Nein

___ Ja: MBG ___ MG ___ FEMG ___ Andere _____

10. Was ist der Beruf Ihres Vaters? _____

11. Welchen Beruf gedenken Sie in der Zukunft auszuueben?

12. Im Falle Sie eine Person, die nicht mennonitisch, glaeubig, und deutsch ist, heiraten wollten (alle anderen Faktoren ausgeschlossen, wie z.B.: Schoenheit, Wohlstand, usw.), wie wuerden Sie bei jedem der folgenden Moeglichkeiten in der Wahl vorziehen, A oder B?

1. A. ___ Mennonit, Glaeubig, Nicht-Deutsch,
   ODER
   B. ___ Mennonit, Nicht-Glaeubig, Deutsch.

2. A. ___ Nicht-Mennonit, Glaeubig, Deutsch,
   ODER
   B. ___ Mennonit, Nicht-Glaeubig, Deutsch.

3. A. ___ Mennonit, Glaeubig, Nicht-Deutsch,
   ODER
   B. ___ Nicht-Mennonit, Glaeubig, Deutsch.

4. A. ___ Nicht-Mennonit, Nicht-Glaeubig, Deutsch,
   ODER
   B. ___ Nicht-Mennonit, Glaeubig, Nicht-Deutsch.

TEIL B

FRAGEBOGEN UEBER ALLGEMEINE MEINUNGEN

[The remainder of the Students' Questionnaire is identical with the last six pages of the Parents' Schedule.]

APPENDIX C

FORMS USED TO SECURE SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

C-1 Farmers' Questionnaire on Land Tenure and Hired Help

SCHAETZUNG DER MENNONITEN VON PARANÁ

Jahrgang 1965 Verantwortlich: Prof. R.H. Minnich

FRAGEN FUER LANDWIRTE

1. Gehoert das Land, das Sie bearbeiten, Ihnen selbst, oder haben Sie es gepachtet?

A. ____ Alles eigenes Land. Hektare ____

B. ____ Alles gemietetes Land. Hektare ____

Wie wird die Miete bezahlt?

1. ____ Bargeld 2. ____ Produkte

3. ____ Kombination (Bargeld u. Produkte) Wie? _____

4. ____ Andere _____

C. ____ Eigener Teil; gemieteter Teil.

Wieviele Hektare sind eigenes Land? ____ Hk.

Wieviele Hektare sind gemietetes Land? ____ Hk.

Wie wird die Miete bezahlt?

1. ____ Bargeld 2. ____ Produkte

3. ____ Kombination (Bargeld u. Produkte) Wie? _____

4. ____ Andere _____

2. Haben Sie Angestellte, die nicht zur Familie gehoeren?

A. ____ Nein

B. ____ Ja Wieviele? _____

1. ____ Tagelochner Wieviele? ____

2. ____ Kontraktierte Wieviele? ____

Wie werden sie ausgezahlt?

a. ____ In Bargeld

b. ____ In Produkten

c. ____ Kombination (Bargeld u. Produkte)
Wie? _____

d. ____ Andere _____

C-2 Family Visitation Form

ART UND WEISE DER BESUCHE
UNTER DEN MENNONITEN VON PARANÁ

Jahrgang 1965 Verantwortlich: Prof. R.H. Minnich

LISTE DER DESUCHE WAEHREND DES MONATS JUNI

DATEN	BESUCHE		ART DER PERSONEN				HAUPTZWECK DES BESUCHES		
			VERWANDTE		NICHTVERWANDTE				
	ERHALTENE BESUCHE	GEMACHTE BESUCHE	NACHBAR	NICHT NACHBAR	NACHBAR	NICHT NACHBAR	FREUND-SCHAFT	GESCHAEFT	BERA-TUNG

[Form is one legal-size page in length.]

APPENDIX D

ENGLISH FORMS OF THE UNPUBLISHED INSTRUMENTS USED FOR THE MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDES

D-1 Religion Scale[1]

1. The church is the greatest institution in our world today.
2. Life should be centered around religion.
3. There exists a personal God who is aware of my actions.
4. The church is a powerful agency for promoting both individual and social righteousness.
5. Church membership is almost essential to living life at its best.
6. The church helps one to be more honest and creditable.
7. Man is good because he has a spark of God in him.
8. People who do not attend church regularly usually lead unconstructive lives.
9. There must be some kind of a power higher than that of man.
10. Some sort of religious outlook is necessary to achieve a fully mature philosophy of life.
11. At least part of our life is determined by God.
12. Most people read the Bible because they have been taught to.
13. Many persons attend church only because of family pressure.
14. People attend church mostly to be with friends.
15. People pray--but they don't really expect anything to come of it.
16. The church is losing ground as education advances.

---

[1]Source: A.A. Frankel, W.H. Holtzman, and L.F. Graham, "Religion Scale" (unpublished manuscript, Department of Psychology, University of Texas, n.d.). (Mimeographed.)

17. Very religious people are usually narrow-minded.

18. Church attendance does not provide spiritual uplift.

19. Belief of eternal life is a fond hope of weak people.

20. Those who feel that prayers are answered are just deceiving themselves.

21. Immortality is a meaningless idea.

22. Church attendance is worthless.

23. There is no God.

D-2 Mennonite Values Battery[2]

1. It would be better if the Mennonites, as a group, would remain in rural areas.

2. The move to the city of so many Mennonites sooner or later will mean the end of the Mennonite way of life in Brazil.

3. It's much better to live in the country.

4. The city is not a good place for Mennonite young people, except while they go to school.

5. Large families are preferable to small ones.

---

[2]Source: Prepared by the present writer

APPENDIX E

ANALYSIS OF THE MARITAL-PREFERENCE QUESTION

The English translations of the questions, as used in the parents' schedule and the students' questionnaire, are as follows:

Parents' Question --

> If a young man or a young woman from your family should wish to marry someone who is not a Mennonite-Believer-German, which would you prefer in each of the following possibilities, A or B (all other factors excluded, such as beauty, wealth, and so on)?

Students Question --

> If you should wish to marry someone who is not a Mennonite-Believer-German (all other factors excluded, such as beauty, wealth, and so on), which would you prefer in each of the following possibilities, A or B?

The three dichomotized factors yield the following eight combinations.

1. Mennonite, Believer, German
2. Mennonite, Non-Believer, German
3. Mennonite, Believer, Non-German
4. Mennonite, Non-Believer, Non-German

5. Non-Mennonite, Non-Believer, Non-German
6. Non-Mennonite, Believer, Non-German
7. Non-Mennonite, Non-Believer, German
8. Non-Mennonite, Believer, German

Inasmuch as it may be presumed that the ideal (Combination No. 1) is the most desirable, and that its opposite (No. 5) is the least desirable, these two combinations were not used. One combination (No. 4)

is unreal to the Paraná Mennonites, and was excluded. Since a combination with one negative factor theoretically is preferable to one with two negative factors, the two remaining combinations containing two negative factors (Nos. 6 and 7) are included only once, and together. (See the fourth paired choice below.) The remaining three combinations (Nos. 2, 3, and 8) are offered in all possible paired arrangements. This procedure produces the paired choices which are included in the parents' schedule and students' questionnaire, and are listed below.

1.
A. ___ Mennonite, Believer, Non-German,
or
B. ___ Mennonite, Non-Believer, German.

2.
A. ___ Non-Mennonite, Believer, German,
or
B. ___ Mennonite, Non-Believer, German.

3.
A. ___ Mennonite, Believer, Non-German,
or
B. ___ Non-Mennonite, Believer, German.

4.
A. ___ Non-Mennonite, Non-Believer, German,
or
B. ___ Non-Mennonite, Believer, Non-German.

The responses are coded in the following manner:

1 = Choice A
2 = Choice B
3 = No response

Classification of the Responses

		Students	Parents
Believer above all			
1132	(3 Bel.; 1 Men.; 1 Ger.)	2	1
1133	(2 Bel.; 1 Men.; 1 Ger.)		1
Believer-German			
1122	(4 Bel.; 2 Ger.; 1 Men.)	26	20
1123	(3 Bel.; 2 Ger.; 1 Men.)		1
3122	(3 Bel.; 2 Ger.; 0 Men.)		1
Believer-Mennonite			
1112	(4 Bel.; 2 Men.; 1 Ger.)	14	10
German-Believer			
2121	(4 Ger.; 2 Bel.; 1 Men.)	6	4
2122	(3 Ger.; 3 Bel.; 1 Men.-- not ambiguous [Choice 1])		4
1121	(3 Ger.; 3 Bel.; 1 Men.-- not ambiguous [Choice 4])		4
German-Mennonite, or Mennonite-German			
2221	(4 Ger.; 2 Men.; 1 Bel.)	7	16
2223	(3 Ger.; 2 Men.; 1 Bel.)		1
2231	(3 Ger.; 2 Men.; 0 Bel.)	1	
2233	(2 Ger.; 2 Men.; 0 Bel.)	1	3
2211	(3 Ger.; 2 Men.; 1 Bel.)	2	3
2331	(2 Ger.; 1 Men.; 0 Bel.)		1
Mennonite above all			
2212	(3 Men.; 2 Ger.; 2 Bel.)		2
1211	(3 Men.; 2 Ger.; 2 Bel.)		1
3212	(2 Men.; 2 Bel.; 1 Ger.-- not ambiguous [Choice 1])		1
German above all			
2133	(2 Ger.; 1 Men.; 1 Bel.)		2

Classification of Responses (continued)

		Students	Parents
Ambiguous			
1212	(3 Men.; 3 Bel.; 1 Ger.)		1
2322	(2 Bel.; 2 Ger.; 1 Men.)		1
2132	(2 Bel.; 2 Ger.; 1 Men.)		1
2222	(3 Ger.; 2 Men.; 2 Bel.-- ambiguous due to Choice 4)	1	2
1221	(3 Ger.; 2 Men.; 2 Bel.-- ambiguous due to Choice 1)	1	1
1111	(3 Bel.; 2 Ger.; 2 Men.-- ambiguous due to Choice 4)		1
1222	(3 Bel.; 2 Ger.; 2 Men.-- ambiguous due to Choice 2)	1	1
2112	(3 Bel.; 2 Ger.; 2 Men.-- ambiguous due to Choice 1)	1	
3123	(2 Ger.; 2 Bel.; 0 Men.)		3
1313	(2 Bel.; 2 Men.; 0 Ger.)		1
Incomplete	(less than two responses)	7	7

The numbers of usable responses are: parents, 76 (80 per cent of the total of 95); students, 59 (84 per cent of the total of 70). The unusable responses include those which are ambiguous or incomplete.

Résumé of the Usable Responses

Classification	Students		Parents	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Believer ranked "high"				
Believer above all	2	3	2	3
Believer-German	26	44	22	29
Believer-Mennonite	14	24	10	13
Subtotals	42	71	34	45
Believer ranked "low"				
German-Believer	6	10	12	16
German-Mennonite, or Mennonite-German	11	19	24	31
Mennonite above all	--	--	4	5
German above all	--	--	2	3
Subtotals	17	29	42	55

These data yield the following 2 x 2 contingency table:

Respondents	Rank of Believer	
	High	Low
Students	42	17
Parents	34	42

Chi-square = 8.414, $p < .01$; Q = .506

APPENDIX F

QUESTIONS USED IN EXTENDED INTERVIEWS WITH
PARANÁ MENNONITE LEADERS

F-1 Questions for Religious Leaders

1. First of all I would like to ask you: Who are the Mennonites? What are their main characteristics?

2. In your opinion, what is the purpose of the church in this community? Does it include social and economic activities?

3. Should the church seek to determine the social and economic characteristics of the community, as was the case in Russia?

4. How is your church organized? Can we make a diagram of it, similar to this example [organizational chart] which I have?

5. In your opinion, is the influence of the church in this community increasing or decreasing? Can you give some examples to illustrate your opinion?

6. What type of relations does your church have with other congregations of the same Conference; with other Mennonite denominations; and with other "evangelical" denominations?

7. Has your church made changes in doctrine, organization, practice or customs since your arrival in Brazil?

8. The historical position of the Mennonites concerning military service appears to be almost forgotten in Brazil. What is your personal position concerning this--should it be forgotten, or revived, or is it "dead"?

9. What are the main problems which confront your church? Do you have a "youth problem"?

10. What is the total membership of your church? What are the regular meetings of the church and its subsidiary organizations--weekly, as well as those which take place as often as once a year.

11. In your opinion, what is the future of the Mennonite Churches in Brazil?

F-2 Questions for Educational Leaders

1. Will you please prepare for me a résumé of school attendance during the past ten years, and note the percentage of non-Mennonite students for each year?

2. Would you assist me to make an organizational diagram of the supervisory and administrative system of your school? To whom does the property belong?

3. What type of relations does your school have with the state?

4. How many professors have you had each year during the past decade? How many of them have been non-Mennonites?

5. How many volumes does your school library contain?

6. Concerning financial resources:

   How much of the school's income is derived from tuition fees?

   What percentage comes from the Cooperative?

   What percentage comes from the state?

   Do you receive any type of assistance from outside groups or organizations (such as the German Consulate)?

7. What is the role of the Mennonite school in this community?

8. What is the effect of increased higher education of Mennonite young people on the Mennonite way of life in Brazil?

9. What is the future of church-related education in this community?

10. Has the attitude of most Mennonites concerning higher education changed since their arrival in Brazil?

F-3 Questions for Community Leaders

1. What are the main differences between Mennonite community life in Russia and in Brazil? Also, between that in Paraguay and that in Brazil?

2. In your opinion, are the changes in Brazil a help or a hinderance for the maintenance of the Mennonite way of life in this community?

3. Is your community maintaining a level of social interaction which is sufficient to continue a "real Mennonite community"?

4. In your opinion, what is the future of the closed community in Brazil?

5. Do you think that the various community activities of the Mennonites in Paraná will remain about the same, increase, or decrease, during the next ten years?

6. What are the main problems which threaten Mennonite community life in this country? Have you made progress in solving them, and if so, how have you done it?

7. In your opinion, what are the advantages of a closed settlement such as the Mennonites had in Russia, and exists at present in Witmarsum? Are there any disadvantages? What are they?

8. How is your community organized? Can we diagram it?

9. Does your community have regular contacts with other Mennonite communities? With which ones, and in what ways? Have other non-Mennonite groups (such as the Dutch settlers) had an influence on this community? If so, in what ways?

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This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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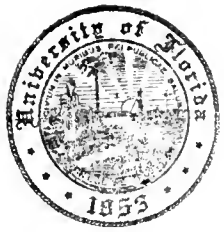

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